

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1837.

Art. I. *Speech of John Poynder, Esq., at a General Court of Proprietors of the East India Company, on the 21st of December, 1836, upon a motion for carrying into effect the Letter of the Court of Directors of the 20th of February, 1833, which ordered the withdrawal of British patronage and support from the worship and service of Idolatry, and the extinction of all Taxation arising from the Superstitions of Heathenism. Hatchard, 1837.*

IT is among the most gratifying circumstances of the times in which we live—after making the fullest deductions which can be claimed by opponents—that the spiritual and eternal interests of our fellow men are more than ever considered—and that in proportion as the honour of God is thus promoted in the growth and advancement of a kingdom which is not of this world, a progressive amelioration in the comfort of all about us, both at home and abroad, is sensibly advancing in an equal degree. That holiness and happiness are indissolubly connected, under a system of which the declared author and head is ‘LOVE,’ can never be doubted by any believer in divine revelation; but it is grateful to a well ordered mind to be enabled to trace the increasing evidences of this great truth, and we esteem it no small privilege to record our own conviction, derived from all recent, as well as ancient testimony, that the godliness which is profitable for all things has eminently the promise of both worlds—of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come. Perhaps there is hardly a better demonstration of this fact than is

offered in the history of British India—as developed in our own days, and passing under our own eyes. We may advert in the first instance to the recent abolition of the cruel and sanguinary practice of suttee—or the burning of widows—so long continued throughout India as a religious rite. It will not be disputed, we presume, that—as a mere question of human policy, having reference only to the deserted children of these unhappy women—it was highly desirable that some step should be taken to rescue the 666 widows, who, according to our parliamentary returns, were annually offered in sacrifice to Moloch. Yet strange as it may appear, this is only a recent triumph of our common Christianity; and this fact will appear yet stranger when it is remembered that even antecedently to the introduction of Christianity, some of the heathens were enabled by the mere light of nature to discern the evil of similar practices, and actually to abolish them. It is very remarkable that the Romans (though heathens themselves) put an end to human sacrifices in this country, nearly two centuries before the introduction of Christianity among us. The Romans conceived such an aversion to the Druids—the then high priests of these abominations, whose inhumanities are minutely described by Diodorus Siculus (Lib. 5)—that contrary to the ordinary policy observed by that people in their conquests, of invariably tolerating the religion of the country, they resolved upon an utter extirpation of these priests and their cruelties. It appears from Pliny (Lib. 30, c. 1), that human sacrifices were first forbidden at Rome by a decree of the senate [ab urbe condita 657] when Lentulus and Crassus were Consuls, but that some still continuing them privately, the emperor Augustus renewed the prohibition with effect. The emperor Tiberius then suppressed them in Gaul, and Claudius, as appears from Suetonius (in Claud. 25), extirpated the Druids, as well as their sanguinary worship in that country. Such sacrifices, however, subsisted in our own land, as appears from Pomponius Mela (de situ Orbis Lib. 3, c. 2), until about the 60th year of the Christian era, when the Roman general, Paulinus Suetonius, having reduced the island of Anglesea, overthrew the Druids and their inhuman rites, so completely, that they never afterwards revived. From all this it appears that our heathen conquerors, the Romans, did more for us than we were willing, until recently, to do for ourselves. The first individual, perhaps, who effectually opened the eyes of some few among us to our solemn duty in this particular, was the late Dr. Buchanan, whose sermon before the Church Missionary Society soon after his return from India, the writer of this article will never forget. It was next to impossible to hear unmoved his heart-stirring appeal to the proprietors of East India stock, on their deep

responsibility, in reference to the direct encouragement afforded by them to the wretched devotees of a false and cruel superstition, among whom they were bound not merely to have diffused a system of truth and purity opposed to such abominations, but at the same time to have prohibited the commission of murder, under any pretext, but above all, upon the score of religion.

It was not, however, until several years after this public protest, that any one of the many proprietors of East India stock (among whom we deeply regret to say that there were—as there now are—many of the clergy of the National Establishment, duly receiving their annual dividends,) felt it to be his duty to bring the subject before the Court of the East India Company. But at length, on the 28th of March, 1827, the gentleman whose recent speech in the same Court forms the heading of the present article, made a motion, having for its object a recommendation to the Court of Directors to transmit such instructions to India as might hereafter prevent all ‘such rites and ceremonies as should involve ‘the destruction of human life.’ In advocating this object, Mr. Poynder went into elaborate proofs, for several hours, of the character and extent of the flagitious immolations of the females of India, conducted with the concurrence of the priests under the open permission or silent connivance of the government authorities. He proved abundantly that the cases were comparatively few in which these sacrifices were voluntary, by far the greater part of them having been submitted to under the sanction of the priesthood—while the victims themselves were always subjected to the influence of intoxicating or narcotic drugs, and were very frequently sacrificed with open violence;—the property of the widow becoming the subject of sacerdotal plunder, and her offspring being of course forsaken and left to perish. Our limits preclude all attempts to give any idea of the arguments adduced by Mr. Poynder in support of his motion. His speech was published by Messrs. Hatchard, and may be consulted by such of our readers as are interested in the history of this question. It will hardly be believed, that the then chairman, Sir G. A. Robinson, and one of the present directors the Hon. Hugh Lindsay (then deputy chairman), openly opposed this attempt; but so it was—for they brought forward an Amendment declaratory of the confidence reposed by the proprietors in their executive body, and intended to overthrow, *in limine*, the motion which, sought only in the most respectful terms to refer to the executive body, the gradual abolition of these inhuman sacrifices ‘consistently with all practicable attention to ‘the feelings of the natives.’ In spite of this attempted Amendment, supported as it was by the whole influence of the Court,

such was the irresistible force of truth, and such the manly eloquence, and the strong common sense which were brought to bear upon the subject by the late Mr. Randal Jackson, and by Mr. Rob. Humphrey Martin (a Protestant Dissenter), who yet survives, that, for once, a motion made and supported by the chairman and his deputy, and advocated by the whole directors, was reluctantly withdrawn, and (a thing almost unprecedented and unknown in the debates of that Court) the motion for relief was eventually carried. Under the instructions which afterwards went out to India—though far from conclusive or positive—the then Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, acting in a manner worthy of the representative of the British sovereign, with a single stroke of his pen decreed the abolition of those foul and inhuman murders which had been for so long a series of years inflicted by sons on their own mothers. Undeterred by a formal appeal, purporting to be from the native idolaters of Calcutta, but in reality got up by certain interested merchants and agents of our own company, his lordship chose to interpret the irresolute and half-hearted directions which he received from home, into a prohibition of scenes at once dishonourable to the great Creator of the Universe, and injurious to the most unprotected and helpless of his creatures.

It is hardly necessary to state that this Appeal was forwarded by his lordship to this country, or to add, that the British sovereign, with the advice of his privy council, confirmed the righteous adjudication of his viceroy,—holding that the destruction of human life was not the less, but rather the greater murder, when perpetrated under the abused name of religion. However much had been thus effected, it was still evident that much remained to be done. If so many hundred women, chiefly of early age, and the mothers of families, were no longer delivered up every year to the flames, it was too evident that, while the British power, in addition to the toleration of the grossest idolatry (for which toleration there might be much to urge), was content to receive the profits of a large taxation upon the whole temple-worship—on every pilgrimage—every procession—and every penance—it was a partaker in all the crimes of idolatry; nay, that while it kept up the entire system by paying a large and laborious band of pilgrim hunters (as they are termed), whose duty it was to feed the temples with visitants of both sexes and of all ages, from all parts of India, it was clear that the government mixed up with the whole heathen idolatry. By paying the priests, and the prostitutes attached to the several temples—by providing the food of the gods—by furnishing the idols—by decorating the shrines—by repairing the roads leading to the temples—by building and maintaining the idolatrous cars, the

government furnished the natives with a ready answer to all who sought to teach them the gospel, and which they never failed to advance; namely, that it was obvious the British government itself saw no difference, and made no distinction between heathenism and Christianity. There appeared this further aggravation in the large revenue derived by us from the open taxation of the whole idolatrous worship; namely, that while in the case of the widow burning, only the Brahmins were the better for the sacrifices, and no European shared in the traffic of iniquity; the entire system of heathen worship, from the highest offering made at the principal temple, down to the lowest act of worship at a sacred stream (including every penance of whatever nature), was the subject of a larger or smaller payment, the produce of which, after deducting the charges of our own collectors and agents, finally found its way into the treasury at home, and enabled the Company, in addition to its profits of trade, to pay $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to its several proprietors! It is indeed manifest that this was the secret reason of all the difficulty that has occurred in our withdrawing from the general taxation of idolatry, while, as no such obstacle presented itself in the particular case of the suttees, the task of securing the abolition of widow burning became comparatively easy. Of this taxation the *net produce* in seventeen years (after payment of every possible outgoing), from only four of the principal temples (namely, Gya, Juggernaut, Allahabad, and Tripetty), was proved to be a sum very little short of one million of pounds sterling! all which, together with much other important matter bearing upon the general question of British participation in idolatry, was further brought by Mr. Poynder before the India Court, on the 22nd of September, 1830.

On this occasion he proved, from incontestable documents received from all parts of India, the extent of the evil in question, and the impossibility (humanly speaking) of ever effectually diffusing the light of the gospel while we were openly deriving large pecuniary advantages from idolatry. All this, it will be observed, was thirteen years after the public protest of Dr. Buchanan, not merely against the murderous rite of the suttee, but against the encouragement extended by the Company with one hand to the foulest vice, and the grossest ignorance, while with the other it was affecting to set up Christianity. Adverting to this delay, in the Preface to his second speech, printed in 1830, Mr. Poynder asks, 'Why, when their own chaplain had so long since detailed as an eye-witness the abominations of Juggernaut, and our participation in the spoil, was that disgraceful triumph of idolatry permitted to receive our continued encouragement, and why was it still supported with increasing attractions. Whoever,' adds Mr. P., 'may administer or control the affairs of the Company, they are evidently mere trustees for the British public, and not for that

‘portion of it alone which may charge itself with the political or
 ‘pecuniary relation in which that great corporation stands to the
 ‘state, but for the whole of that public as openly professing the
 ‘Christian faith, in virtue of which, the Company is connected
 ‘immediately with the National Church of England, and virtually
 ‘with the whole church of Christ throughout the world. We are
 ‘amenable, as a Company, far more for the support and extension
 ‘of our common Christianity, operating as in that case, it cannot
 ‘but do to the gradual and peaceable extermination of idolatry,
 ‘than we are for the preservation of the national prosperity, and
 ‘the aggrandizement of the public revenue; and if the Company
 ‘can be shown to be openly and unnecessarily promoting the
 ‘extension of idolatry to the injury and depreciation of true reli-
 ‘gion, she has forfeited her trust more signally and emphatically
 ‘than she could have done by negligence or malversation in her
 ‘pecuniary or commercial relations, precisely in the proportion
 ‘that morals are of more importance than politics, and the in-
 ‘terests of eternity superior to those of time.’

To this printed speech were appended the authentic accounts of receipt and expenditure, already referred to, but it must be remembered that far from comprising the numerous temples of India, they embrace only four of the chief.

The motion on this occasion had for its object a recommendation to the directors to call the attention of the government abroad to the subject, with a view to the removal of such a reproach from our empire; but, notwithstanding the fresh mass of evidence which had been collected on the moral pollutions and sanguinary character of Indian idolatry, and the open complaints from the whole of our foreign empire, of all who called themselves Christians, the Court of Directors divided against this temperate motion; nor did they indicate any intention of dealing with the mighty evil, until the House of Commons instituted a Committee, and examined witnesses on the question. The investigation, thus originated, aroused at length the attention of the president of the Board of Control, and of the Company, and the final result was the transmission of a Dispatch from the directors, dated the 20th of February, 1833, the secret history of which might perhaps be found interesting in no common degree, but to which we abstain from adverting, observing only that this document (signed as it eventually was by fourteen directors) was perhaps one of the most important state papers which has ever gone out to India since her connexion with the British empire. Without attempting to detail the masterly arguments by which its writer (whoever he was) demolishes the reasoning both of the ignorant and of the interested in favour of a revenue derived by a Christian empire from idolatry, we shall only notice the final decision and decree of the directors, namely: 1st. ‘That the in-

‘terference of British functionaries in the interior management
‘of native temples—in the customs, habits, and religious proceed-
‘ings of their priests and attendants—in the arrangement of their
‘ceremonies, rites, and festivals, and in the conduct of their in-
‘terior economy, SHALL CEASE. 2. That the Pilgrim Tax shall
‘every where be abolished. 3. That fines and offerings shall
‘no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British
‘government, and they shall no longer be collected or received
‘by the servants of the Company. 4. That no servant of the
‘Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection, or ma-
‘nagement, or custody of moneys, in the nature of fines or offer-
‘ings, however obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in
‘kind. 5. That no servant of the Company shall hereafter de-
‘rive any emolument from the above-mentioned, or any similar
‘sources. 6. That in all matters relating to their temples, their
‘worship, their festivals, their religious practices, and their cere-
‘monial observances, OUR NATIVE SUBJECTS BE LEFT ENTIRELY
‘TO THEMSELVES. 7. That in every case in which it has been
‘found necessary to form and keep up a police force, especially
‘with a view to the security of the pilgrims, or the worshippers,
‘such police shall hereafter be maintained out of the general re-
‘venues of the country.’ Accounts are then called for, by the
dispatch, of ten years’ receipts and expenses in the three presi-
dencies. This dispatch was read in council at Calcutta, on July
13, 1833, when the Accountant-General of Bengal, and the
governments of Madras and Bombay, were directed to furnish
receipts and disbursements of the pilgrim and other taxes; and
on the 9th of December, 1833, the council again ordered such
returns. Of course no undue precipitance can be imputed to
those Christians, whether abroad or at home, who, finding that the
several years of 1834, 1835, and 1836, passed over without these
returns, began very naturally to suspect that the authority of the
Court at home was deliberately set at nought. Repeated in-
quiries, whether such a state of things was to be continued, ac-
companied by the loudest complaints as to the delay which had
taken place, now poured in from India. On the 21st of Dec.
last, Mr. Poynder deemed it his duty to bring the subject again
before the General Body, and his speech on this third occasion
of a public appeal to the Company has just been printed.

In proof that, notwithstanding the express orders of the Com-
pany, things continue precisely as they were, we can only give
extracts from two of the letters which he read to the Court.

The first is from an individual of high rank and authority,
(whom we understand to be the Bishop of Calcutta,) written
from Juggernaut, and dated the 4th of June, 1835 (two years
after the above dispatch had been received): ‘I have visited the

‘valley of death—I have seen the den of darkness—Juggernaut
‘has been trodden by these feet, and seen with these eyes, after
‘thirty or forty years hearing and reading about it. Oh,
‘Buchanan! How well do I remember your pious indignation
‘when, nearly thirty years since, you visited this foul and horrible
‘scene. My soul is moved within me even to trembling. The
‘dread pagoda is situated in the vicinity of this village, called
‘Boree, of which the narrow streets and wretched abodes are only
‘emblems of the moral ruin and misery it diffuses. A town of
‘50,000 souls is held together by the direst superstition—no
‘trade but sin, no art but delusion and lies, no bond of union but
‘communion in idolatry. Nothing has yet been done to
‘abolish these atrocities. The pilgrim tax is still collected about
‘a mile from the town, and a ticket given to each wretched in-
‘dividual to warrant his approach. The three cars of Juggernaut
‘are built anew every year. The tributary villages furnish
‘the quota of wood. The clothes and mantles are still furnished
‘for the idle pageantry by British servants. The horrors are un-
‘utterable. About 50,000 pilgrims pay the tax yearly, and
‘100,000 are let through as unable to do so; 150,000 altogether,
‘of whom about one-third, or 50,000, perish by hunger, fatigue,
‘and sickness, yearly. They are collected from all parts of
‘India, and I stopped to ask some persons at one of the tanks
‘How they were collected? By regular bodies of men, termed
‘pilgrim-hunters, who travel over all India for the purpose, and
‘when they have gathered a troop, drive them like sheep before
‘them, till they reach the scene of plunder, cruelty, and lust.
‘The larger number are women, who concert the plan for under-
‘taking the pilgrimage unknown to their husbands and families,
‘and start off at a moment. The abominations consequent may
‘be judged of by this trait. When the caravans arrive, a per-
‘petual fight takes place amongst the Pooree inhabitants, who
‘shall receive them, so eager are the people to lodge, in other
‘words, plunder the helpless wretches; and plundered they are,
‘not only of all they possess or can procure, but of all they can
‘borrow at immense interest. About five days finish the pro-
‘cess; the stripped multitude then proceed on their return. The
‘sick are uniformly left behind to whiten with their bones the
‘accursed plains. Those plains are barren sands thrown up from
‘the beach by the south-east monsoon. The seasons of festival
‘are chosen, as it were, to heighten the misery, for instance,
‘June, when the extreme heat is suddenly succeeded by the rains,
‘and the cholera amongst the undefended crowds. The sick still
‘sometimes throw themselves under the wheels of the Belial car,
‘bands of music, troops of dancers, or prostitutes of the vilest
‘order, noisy intemperate debauchery, with the most filthy and

‘unutterable pollutions in figures, exhibitions, and songs, make up the religious rites of Juggernaut.’

In another letter of the same date, the same writer says: ‘The horrors of the pilgrim tax still linger in existence, though condemned from home, and impose yearly upon 200,000 travellers the risk of death to one-third of the aggregate pilgrims.’ The same excellent and estimable informant, in a letter to a friend, only just received, writes: ‘You may tell Mr. Poynder that nothing has yet been done that I know of, about the pilgrim tax; the rupees are so much thought of!’

Letter from the Rev. ———, dated Cuttack, July 8, 1830, (two years from the receipt of the directors’ dispatch): ‘The return of the Rutt Jattrā, or Car Festival of Juggernaut, which will be celebrated three days hence, reminds us that all the shame and guilt of a Christian government, supporting and cherishing idolatrous rites, continue to be persisted in, notwithstanding the noble expression which the Court of Directors gave of their abhorrence of such a course in their dispatch of the 20th of February, 1833. They justly argued.’ (He here recapitulates the reasoning and result of the dispatch.) ‘The Indian government has left the whole business just where it was. It might have been supposed its members would be glad of the permission to wash their hands of the pollutions of heathenism; but no! they are content to remain providers for the gods. When we have looked on, as hundreds of thousands of our fellow-men were bowing down before the shapeless trunk of Juggernaut, and rending the air with their shouts, we have been oppressed with shame. It has been next to impossible to believe the fact that was before our eyes, that such multitudes were capable of the deep degradation we were looking on. But the shame has increased when we consider the part that is borne by our countrymen, at the head quarters of this abomination. Next Sabbath, on the first day of the week, the day on which a finished salvation was wrought for men, by the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, on which he is exhibited throughout the world, for the healing of all its wretchedness, perhaps a hundred thousand pilgrims will be drawn together from all India, by a heathen missionary agency, paid by British hands, to worship an image, new made every year, of which, every board and daub of paint is furnished out of British coffers, to admire the pageantry of those new built cars which have just been constructed and ornamented under British superintendence and pay, and in part with British fabrics, furnished from the stores of government. The roads and fields of Orissa will be strewn with multitudes dying of starvation and disease, whose bones will remain to bleach there, because British patronage of

‘their superstitions allured them from their homes, where their wives and children will look for them again in vain. The sin and delusion of idolatry will be perpetuated, because it is upheld by those who know that it is sin and delusion, an offence to God, and a bane to man. It is sorrow enough that idolatry and its concomitant evils should exist; but it is more than sorrow, it is iniquity that they should be prolonged, and increased by men, who themselves profess to know God, and to serve him.’

‘I am bound to believe,’ says Mr. Poynder, after having defined the terms of his motion, and clearly established the facts on which it was based, ‘that no proprietors of India stock can possibly desire the present amount of dividend to be continued, if this would stand in the way of the directors’ righteous resolution, to abandon such an unhallowed source of profit. If any proprietors can dare to indulge such a wish, let him now rise in his place, and avow it in the face of this Christian country, and he will stand in no enviable minority.

‘I am equally bound to believe, that no collector, pilgrim-hunter, toll-gatherer, farmer of taxes, or any other agent or servant of the Company abroad, will any longer dare, for his own miserable advantage, to stand in the way of all the good that is decreed at home, as he tenders his present peace and his eternal interests.

‘It is impossible, in the utmost exercise of Christian charity, not to apprehend, that somehow, or somewhere, ‘the mammon of unrighteousness’ has had an operation; or, assuredly, long before this, the voice of this Court, and of this country, would not have been uttered in vain. I mention no names, and designate no places where an influence behind the throne, but greater than the throne itself, may have been in silent exercise. All I ask is, let it only have an end as soon as this Court shall have authoritatively declared that its hour is now decreed beyond the power of revocation.

‘But, anxious as I am, to press no harder at home than I am justified from facts, I do not disguise my impression that, if the directors now hesitate to act with a greater degree of vigour than they have ever yet displayed, they are from henceforth, the patrons and abettors of idolatry, because, ‘Qui non prohibet cum prohibere possit, jussit.’ ‘He that is not with me is against me,’ was the declaration of unerring authority.

‘It might, indeed, suit the infidel Gibbon, and our modern infidels after him, to eulogize the gay and elegant mythology of Greece and Rome, because he never read, or never believed, the first chapter of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans; but had he ever understood the wretched condition of the heathen world as it is there most faithfully and affectingly depicted, he would at once have admitted, that under such a system of darkness, the grossest uncleanness abounded, in spite of the highest intellectual cultivation, precisely as it now does in heathen India; he would have seen that as the lettered, and unlettered world alike, ‘by wisdom knew not God,’ so it pleased God by what that world esteemed, and still esteems, ‘the foolishness of preaching,

to save them that believe.' Without this gracious revelation of His will, we never could have known Him ourselves, for we were once 'carried about to these dumb idols,' and in the persons of our pagan ancestors, sacrificed our widows and children, suspended over the fire in wicker baskets to these deities of wood and stone.

'The duty thence resulting, of communicating the light we have received; is obvious; and either to withhold this divine revelation of His will from the ignorant and vicious, or to pull down with one hand (as we have too long done in India) that edifice of eternal truth which we profess to be erecting with the other, is alike inconsistent and criminal.

'It is not true, as certain infidel philosophers of all times have asserted, that it is the same thing whether men are Christians or pagans, and that they are no more responsible for their religious creed, than for the height of their stature, or the colour of their hair. To my own mind, one of the strongest collateral testimonies to the authenticity of divine revelation is, the actual condition, at this very hour, of all countries abandoned to no better instruction than the light and guidance of their own natural reason, and either not possessing, or rejecting the Word of God.

'For what purpose, I would ask, have the many millions of the East been subjected to British rule; and how is it that, when mighty thrones (and especially of late years) have been crumbling about us, and when powerful nations have been made the instruments of their mutual subjugation and destruction, Great Britain still sits as a queen, and gives laws to distant empires?

'Why has she been spared amidst the wreck of surrounding kingdoms, but to promote the glory of God in the diffusion of the everlasting gospel?

'What are any or all of the base and subordinate interests which are occasionally disputed and adjusted in this Court, or any of the pecuniary, and therefore perishing advantages which can be obtained by us from India, either collectively or individually, when brought into competition with the interests of the immortal soul, and the eternal destinies of man? 'In considering,' says the illustrious Charles Grant, 'the affairs of the world as under the control of the Supreme Disposer, and those distant territories as by strange events providentially placed in our hands, is it not reasonable, is it not necessary, to conclude, that they were given to us, not merely that we might draw an annual profit from them, but that we might diffuse among their inhabitants, long sunk in darkness, vice, and misery, the benign light and influence of truth, and the blessings of well-ordered society? and that in prudently and sincerely endeavouring to answer these ends, we may not only hope for some measure of the same success, which has usually attended all serious and rational attempts for the propagation of that pure and sublime religion, which comes from God, but best secure the protection of this providential government, of which we now see such awful marks in the events of the world.'

'It is surely high time that those Anglo-Indians, whose authority is estimated at so high a rate by many, should be informed by the Chris-

tian public, that, if *they* cannot appreciate the high designs for which it has pleased Almighty God to commit to our enlightened and highly-favoured country, the present and future destinies of above a hundred millions of people, there are those among us who better understand their own responsibility, as believing that pecuniary profit and secular patronage are objects of a very secondary character—legitimate, indeed, so long as they keep their place, and are used to higher and more honourable ends; but base and unworthy, to the last degree, when they deviate from their proper purpose, and become the chief, or only end of action, either in corporate bodies or private individuals.

‘It is because proprietors of this class are insensible to their own duties, that such as feel their responsibility are consigned to the loss of caste, and treated as ‘enthusiasts’ and ‘zealots,’ who would throw all India into confusion by propounding crude and ill-digested schemes of reform, in an empire where all the hold we possess is declared to depend upon the mere opinion of the natives; as if we could formerly have alienated that opinion by forbidding the murder of widows, or forfeit it now, by abandoning the taxation of idolatry!’

‘Could it, however, be supposed for an instant, that the opinion of a nation were to be preferred to the judgment and favour of the Almighty, or even that empire itself might be retained upon any other principles than those which are in accordance with the declared will of the righteous Governor of the Universe, it might justly be feared that we should subject ourselves to the rebuke which was once pronounced: ‘Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish; for I work a work in your days—a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.’

‘It is certain that this great work of emancipating the world from bondage like this will be accomplished, and if not by your instrumentality, still it must be effected; in order to which, it will be as easy to the same Almighty hand which has placed England on her present pinnacle of power, to hurl her into the gulf of empires now only known to history, as it was to raise her from nothing to her present dignity. As was once said of another great national deliverance, ‘Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape; for if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall enlargement and deliverance arise from another place, but thou and thy father’s house shall be destroyed.’ I trust, however, that both England and her greatest commercial Company will better discern the day of their visitation.’—pp. 47—52.

We shall only add, that Mr. Poynder successfully examines the entire evidence got up (we will not say in what quarter) before the House of Commons Committee, in favour of continuing the revenue from idolatry, but our limits forbid its insertion. We cannot, however, keep back from our readers the following extract, respecting Dr. Carey, the earliest and most eminent of British missionaries in India:

‘Perhaps the Court will permit a short narrative here. It is now above forty years since, that an individual, obscure and indigent, pro-

ceeded to India for the purpose of introducing to its perishing millions, that gospel which he knew and loved. Such was, at that time, the indifference and jealousy of this great Company, that he and his companions were obliged to embark in a Danish vessel, and smuggle themselves to Bengal. This man laboured for years, with his own hands, in order to obtain the common necessities of life for himself and his family; but, with every possible disadvantage, he acquired such a knowledge of the Bengalee and other dialects, as in seven years to present to India, and the world, the first complete version of the Bengalee New Testament, which was printed at Serampore, in the Danish territory, where the translator and his friends were obliged to fix, because the Company forbade their residence in its own jurisdiction. In the year 1804, when the college was founded in Calcutta, for the instruction of the Company's servants and officers in the oriental tongues, this once despised individual was besought to undertake the principal burden of tuition, and was appointed the Professor of the Bengalee, Mah-ratta, and Sanscrit languages. When he commenced his lectures (says his biographer, Dr. Wilson), there were scarcely any but *viva voce* means of communicating instruction; but he left not only the students of the language well provided with elementary books, but supplied standard compositions to the natives of Bengal, and laid the foundation of a cultivated tongue and flourishing literature throughout the country. He compiled a variety of philological works in several Eastern languages, for facilitating the progress of all future students. His zeal in the prosecution of natural science, (this Christian was surely no 'weak-minded zealot,') led him to form the best and rarest collection of botanical plants in the East. The unspotted integrity, warm benevolence, and dignified simplicity of his manners, won the esteem and confidence of the highest authority in the country. He lived to see the little missionary plant, which he had first introduced, amidst shouts of scorn and derision, shooting forth on every side, and extending its branches from Cape Comorin to the Himalayan mountains, and from the Indus to the borders of China, and then slept in peace, full of years and honour, in hope of a joyful resurrection. He was the pioneer and exemplar of most of the modern Missionary Societies, and enjoyed the testimony of the ancient Christian Knowledge Society to the value of his labours. Upwards of 213,000 copies of the Holy Scriptures have been issued in India, in whole or in part, in no fewer than forty languages and dialects, in a great measure, as a result of these modern exertions. I am unwilling to weary the meeting by enumerating the list of these several languages; but they will be found in the tenth Memoir of the Baptist Society respecting the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Oriental languages by the Serampore Missionaries, published by Parbury and Allen, in 1834. I would here unrol an accurate and beautiful map, parcelling out the different districts of India in which these versions are circulated; but as it could hardly receive the consideration of so large an assembly, I should be unwilling to refer to it, for the sake of mere effect. I can, however, assure the Court that, while its merchants have been arguing about public or private trade, and been considering what were the best

spots for the growth of indigo or the culture of sugar ; how they might best escape the duties, or obtain the drawbacks ; in short, while monied men have been calculating (to use the strong and impressive figure of Mr. Burke) how India would 'cut up, and how she would tallow in the caul and on the kidneys'—there have been persons, men if you please, 'of whom the world was not worthy,' who (as the same writer has beautifully said) have 'trod an open but unfrequented path to immortality,' have looked far above the base and sordid things of time and sense, and tendered the eternal interests of their fellow-creatures, rather than the perishing concerns of an hour.'—p. 13.

The patient and profound attention with which this address was received throughout, by a large assemblage, was characteristic of a very altered and most improved state of feeling from that which we understand attended Mr. Poynder's earlier labours in this Court, and afford no small encouragement to those who embark in similar attempts to 'do the work of the Lord.' The motion referring the whole subject back to the Court of Directors, was unanimously carried ; but it is painful to be obliged to record, that the fresh dispatch which, in consequence, has gone out, is any thing but satisfactory, nay, we must add, is even worse than nugatory ; inasmuch as, instead of remonstrating upon the disgraceful delay of four years in executing a single direction of the dispatch of the 20th of February, 1833, it almost entirely consigns the great question at issue to a contemptuous oblivion, and merely calls for the unimportant returns of accounts already mentioned, upon which comparatively nothing was ever really made to turn. The withdrawal of the Company from the traffic of iniquity and the price of blood, had been positively—not contingently—decreed ; nor did it in any sense, or in any degree depend upon the transmission or refusal of such financial returns, whether our encouragement of the worship of idolatry, and our participation in its profits, should cease or continue. The accounts required four years ago were merely secondary and subordinate ; but the new dispatch has given to them an unnatural prominence, which is calculated to sink and suppress all notice of the great subject which is really before us, and threatens, at this advanced period of so momentous an inquiry, to throw the most unworthy and vexatious obstacles in the way of every servant of God, and every lover of his kind. 'An enemy hath done this ;' nor would it, as we are informed, be difficult to designate 'the wicked Haman' to whom so insidious an attempt may be referred. The directors, however (whether from want of consideration or otherwise), have made this letter their own by adding to it the sanction of their signatures ; and upon them must therefore rest its responsibility, so far as a human tribunal is concerned.

In the meantime, it seems of the utmost importance that parliament should no longer hesitate to speak out in the name of the

country ; but yet, amidst the really important work which solicits their incessant attention, and is well entitled to it, we doubt if this particular subject, however overwhelming in itself, and momentous in its bearings, will be likely to attract the attention it demands, except as petitions shall pour in upon the legislature from all quarters, and which we therefore invite and recommend.

It is somewhat remarkable, as tending to show a consentaneous determination on the part of the authorities abroad, to cling to the sweets of idolatry, that since the East India proprietors have thus called the attention of the directors to their own dispatch to the supreme government in India, of the 20th of February, 1833, a very important document has arrived in this country, from the Presidency of Madras, in the form of a Memorial to the Governor in Council of Fort George, seriously complaining of the adverse influence exercised by a professedly Christian government, as affecting its Christian subjects. This memorial has been printed in Madras, and is signed by thirteen chaplains, thirty-seven missionaries, and one hundred and fifty-two European civil and military residents, of all ranks and stations. It was transmitted to the government of Fort St. George by the bishop, who, in his letter to Sir Frederick Adam (the Governor in council) accompanying it, and dated August 6, 1836, observes, that it 'enumerates instances in which the memorialists feel aggrieved by practices and orders which seem to them contrary to the command of God, thereby subjecting them to the painful alternative of violating the dictates of their consciences, or incurring the displeasure of the government, and praying that the same toleration and exemptions which have long been granted to their heathen and mahomedan fellow-subjects, may be extended to the Christian members of that presidency.' To which the bishop adds, 'I FULLY CONCUR IN EVERY PART OF THE MEMORIAL, and I earnestly hope that it may be thought fitting to concede the full measure of relief prayed.'

The grievances complained of are—

1. That the Christian, civil, and military servants of the government, are required to attend heathen and mahomedan religious festivals, for purposes of respect.
2. That they are required to present offerings, and do homage to idols.
3. That the impure and degrading services of the pagoda are carried on under the supervision and control of the principal European, and therefore Christian, officers of the government, and the management and regulation of the revenues and endowments, both of the pagodas and mosques, are vested in them; that no important idolatrous ceremony can be performed, no at-

tendant of the various idols, not even the prostitutes of the temple be entertained or discharged, nor the least expense incurred, without the official concurrence and orders of the Christian functionary.

4. That British officers, with the troops of the government, are also employed in firing salutes, and doing other honours to mahomedan and idolatrous ceremonies, even on the Sabbath-day, and that Christians are thus often compelled, by the authority of government, to desecrate their own most sacred institutions, and to take part in unholy and degrading superstitions.

5. The Protestant soldiers, members of the Church of England, have also been required, contrary to the king's regulation, 'that every soldier shall be at liberty to worship God according to the forms prescribed by his religion,' to be present at, and participate in, the worship of the Church of Rome.

6. The last point noticed is the forcing of the poorer classes to draw the idol car, mostly without the slightest compensation, but which complaint appears to have been subsequently remedied.

They add, that by the requisition of these and similar duties, the memorialists sensibly feel that not only are Christian servants of the state constrained to perform services incompatible with their most sacred obligations, and that their just rights and privileges as Christians are infringed; but that our holy religion is also dishonoured in the eyes of the people, and public and official sanction and support are given to idolatry and superstitions destructive to the soul, and involving apostacy from the only true and living God.

This memorial is further supported by a long and ably reasoned Appendix, proving, from official documents, and the evidence of numerous facts, not only the horrors and abominations of the idolatrous worship in India, but the compulsory attendance of the servants of the state at the religious ceremonies of heathens, mahomedans, and papists.

It thus appears not merely that the Indian government is neglecting the employment of those legitimate means which the providence of God has placed at its disposal, for the instruction and illumination of a heathen empire, but that, in contravention of the most express orders from the parent government, it is actively engaging in imposing duties upon its own officers and servants of the most onerous and revolting character; that, forgetful of the first and most obvious principles of every well-ordered government, it is virtually renouncing its own allegiance to the revealed will of God, and is extending, even at this late period of the Christian era, the most direct encouragement to the grossest idolatry and crime, at the expense of the best and most honourable feelings of its own Christian population. It is evident

that such a state of things cannot expect to secure the blessing of God ; that it has only existed too long already, and that it cannot be too speedily terminated.

It is painful to be compelled to add, that in spite of a memorial so largely signed, so ably reasoned, and so incontestably true, the Governor-General, Sir Frederick Adam, has returned to the bishop and the petitioners an answer, not merely cold and repulsive, but as we have good reason to believe nothing less than offensive and uncourteous—thus evincing the same determination to retain the unhallowed profits of all unrighteousness, as is now unequivocally demonstrated by the heads of the Company at home.

All this unenlightened and impolitic conduct, must, however, we are fully assured, give way the instant that this mighty empire shall speak out—as it has never yet done—and decree, with a power which none shall dare to resist, the fall of idolatry.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood. Neither have we, nor has Mr. Poynder, nor has any other friend of Christianity and India, been so weak and so blind, to the best interests of those whom we desire to serve, as to contemplate for a moment the employment of any hostile, coercive, or compulsory measures for the extension of our faith, or the overthrow of falsehood. Let not a hair of the head of any worshipper, however ignorant, be hurt while found in the exercise of his own worship—however erroneous—except indeed, as in the case of the suttees, where human life is in question, and the magistrate is bound to interpose. Only let us withdraw (as the Company has already decreed to do) from all taxation of the idolatrous worship, and all participation in its profits. Let us honestly leave these idolaters to support their own system, endeavouring at the same time to inculcate by all peaceable and practicable means the knowledge of divine revelation, and we cannot fail (however gradually) to overcome prejudice, and to establish truth. Once determining no longer to uphold by our own cupidity those false deities of wood and stone which are the work of men's hands—we shall soon see them fall of themselves before the ark. There has been no assertion employed from the beginning of 'this great argument' more untrue in itself, and better known to be so by those who have employed it, than the insinuation of a secret intention on the part of the friends of Christianity to employ the unhallowed weapons of constraint and force. The duty of leaving the blessed truths of the gospel to their own quiet and natural operation, while at the same time we keep our own hands from all pollution of bribes and imposts—is fully admitted and felt by every advocate of the truth. It is a steady adherence to this system which will eventually, in virtue of the divine promise, ensure the complete conversion of the whole empire of

mahomedanism and hindooism. We need, and ask, no other 'weapons of our warfare,' which is eminently 'spiritual.' But to suppose for a moment (with many inconsiderate persons) that any effectual work can be achieved for religion in the East, while the officers and servants of the government are suffered to pay themselves and their employers from the various abominations of idolatry, would be a folly of no ordinary character. It is a result which the agents of the Company neither propose nor expect, but it is our duty to tell them that they have too long, for the basest purposes, resisted the progress of divine truth, to be permitted any longer to stand between us and the sun. We repeat our strong conviction that, the nation has only now to speak out through its legitimate channels of appeal to the British legislature, and the work is done.

Art. II. *The Life of King Henry the Eighth, founded on Authentic and Original Documents, including an Historical View of his Reign, with Biographical Sketches of Wolsey, More, Erasmus, Cromwell, Cranmer, and other Eminent Contemporaries.* By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, Esq., F.S.A. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1837.

THE reign of Henry the Eighth constitutes one of the most remarkable periods of English history. Though the facts which it includes are generally known, its real character is but very partially understood. It is a debateable ground on which contending parties have constructed hostile theories. The seeds of mighty revolutions were then sown, which rapidly vegetated, and brought forth in succeeding reigns a strange mixture of good and evil. The momentous changes of which Henry's policy laid the foundation, have constituted his reign a point of deep interest to every student of constitutional history and of ecclesiastical reform. On his accession to the English throne, a feeling of high exultation pervaded the kingdom. The cautious policy of his father, which had reduced the feudal power of the nobles, had failed, from its parsimony and heartlessness, to conciliate the good feeling of the people. Henry the Seventh was one of the most wary and calculating politicians of his day. Cold-hearted, and of a subtle intellect, he sought at once to cripple the aristocracy, and to supersede the necessity for frequent parliaments,—and to a great extent he succeeded in both. The ancient nobility, who had long retained a monopoly of political offices, were supplanted by men chosen from the second class of gentry, while the parsimonious habits, and unconstitutional levies of the king, relieved

him from the necessity of appealing to the legislature for supplies. His decease was consequently regarded with exultation rather than sorrow. 'As for the disposition of his subjects towards 'him,' says Lord Bacon, in his too favourable history, 'it stood 'thus with him; that of the three affections, which naturally tie 'the hearts of the subjects to their sovereigns, love, fear, and reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, 'and so little of the first, as he was beholden to the other two.*' Neither the nobility nor the people regretted the termination of his reign; but all turned to his successor—then in the bloom of youth, and distinguished by many showy and attractive qualities—with one strong feeling of exultation and hope. Knowing as we do what subsequently occurred, we may be disposed to censure the credulity and extravagant expectations of our fathers; but it must be acknowledged there was much to awaken joyous anticipations in the dullest and least sanguine mind. The young monarch was well educated, his disposition—so far as it had yet been exhibited—was frank, ingenuous, and noble; and his earliest measures betokened a love of literature and a desire for popularity. Henry had been designed for the church, and his education was accordingly theological. Thomas Aquinas was his favourite doctor, and the reputation of the papacy his early passion. But the death of his brother Arthur, opening his way to the throne, his prospects were entirely changed, without his early predilections being eradicated.

The court of the youthful monarch was the resort of many of the most eminent scholars of the day. Henry sought their society and encouraged their labours; and became, in consequence, the subject of their flattering panegyrics. England had already produced some distinguished scholars. The names of Linacre, Grocyn, Lille, Colet, and Sir Thomas More, deserve a high rank among the restorers of classical learning. They were the pioneers of that noble army which was speedily to enfranchise the intellect of their country, and to enlarge the bounds of human knowledge. Dean Colet was the founder of St. Paul's school, the first public seminary in which Greek was taught in England.

'It was this impulse of Christian charity,' Mr. Tytler justly remarks, 'in the founding of schools where the learned languages might be taught, which proved one of the means employed by Providence for bringing about the Reformation. We learn from Dr. Knight, that in the thirty years immediately before this great revolution, there were

* History of Henry VII. Bacon's Works. Montague's Edition, vol. iii. p. 413.

more grammar schools erected in the country, than had been endowed during three hundred years preceding.'—p. 33.

One of Henry's first acts was to invite Erasmus to England. That celebrated scholar took up his abode with Sir Thomas More, who was then living in comparative privacy, and shedding a mild lustre over the circle of which he constituted the glory. There were many points of resemblance in the characters of More and Erasmus. Both had caught the inspiration of the age, and had enriched their fine intellects with the treasures of ancient lore. Both prepared the way of the Reformation, by bringing contempt on the schools, and by lashing the vices of the clergy. They were theoretic advocates of human freedom, who luxuriated in their early works in the anticipation of a period, when a mild and tolerant policy would harmonize individual liberty with the general good. Yet both failed to justify the expectations they awakened. The timid and supple heart of Erasmus disqualified him for following the track to which his speculations pointed; while the theological prepossessions of More clouded his intellect and hardened his heart, against the perception of truth and the claims of humanity. The one became the opponent of Luther, his former correspondent and friend,—the other shaded his glory, by a heartless execution of a sanguinary code. No Englishman can rejoice in the dishonour of such a man as More. His calm dignity and domestic virtues, the freedom of his philosophical speculations, and the natural generosity of his heart,—all concur in making him the glory of his age, and only serve to exhibit in yet darker colours the atrocity of a system which could change him from a philanthropist to a persecutor,—from the herald of freedom to the dishonoured agent of priestly intolerance and cruelty.

Such were the men whom Henry in his better days gathered round him, and it is therefore no marvel that much was expected from his reign. The liberators of the human mind hailed his accession as an intellectual Millennium, and repaired to his court as their most appropriate dwelling. 'I wish often,' says Erasmus in a letter to the Archduke Ferdinand, 'that our court would imitate Britain, which is full of men most learned in all kinds of studies. They stand round the royal table, where literary and philosophical subjects are discussed relative to the education of a prince, or to some question of good morals. In short, the company of the palace is such, there is no academy you would not undervalue in comparison with it.'*

The events which followed fell lamentably short of so bright

* Turner's *Henry the Eighth*, i. 43.

a promise. Henry was the creature of caprice, the slave of impetuous passions, and he became in consequence the terror of his subjects and the dupe of his enemies. His foreign administration was as inglorious as any which England had seen. Without foresight, sagacity, or steadiness of purpose, he was tossed upon the ocean of European politics, where his fickleness and want of principle rendered him the derision and contempt both of friends and foes. Under a calm and sagacious statesman, England might have held the balance between France and Spain, and won more solid advantages than Agincourt or Cressy had yielded. But Henry, and his minister Wolsey, were incapable of any systematic and statesman-like plan of operations, and the power and treasury of England were, in consequence, idly wasted in continental struggles. The contemporary monarchs, Francis and Charles, were talented and ambitious,—equally unscrupulous in their pursuit of power, yet strikingly distinguished from each other in the general features of their character. The former was frank, impetuous, and chivalric; bold in his enterprises, uncalculating as to his means, and only intent on carrying out the system of aggrandizement, which his predecessor, Louis the Twelfth, had formed. Charles, on the other hand, was equally ambitious, but more cool and politic. He was a sagacious statesman, who rarely permitted his passions to master his reason, or suffered an opportunity to escape of laying the foundations of an extensive and splendid empire. Both were in the bloom of youth, and flushed with the hope of European ascendancy. Between such monarchs, at the head of two such empires, and inheriting the rivalry and hatred of their fathers, it was not to be expected that peaceful relations would long be maintained. Each regarded the other as his natural foe, and both calculated from the commencement of their reign on the deadly hostilities which ensued. Henry was speedily involved in their struggles, and vacillated from side to side, according to the whim of the moment, and the interested suggestion of his sordid and revengeful favourite. The passions of Wolsey determined the policy of his master, and these inclined to Francis or to Charles, according to the liberality of their flattery and presents. It was known throughout Europe that the English cardinal was the creature of the monarch who would bid highest for his favour; and the measures of his court was calculated accordingly.

The domestic policy of Henry is open to equal censure. Had his sagacity been equal to his opportunities, he might have inflicted a permanent injury on the liberties of his country. On his accession he inherited an immense treasure, which his father had accumulated; and in the latter part of his reign a large portion of the property of the nation was thrown into his hands by

the suppression of the monasteries. Had this wealth been husbanded, he would have been to a considerable extent independent of parliamentary supplies, and might have consolidated a power destructive of the growing influence of the Commons. But his thoughtless generosity and profuse expenditure kept him perpetually dependent. The wealth which might have gone far to render the monarchy despotic, was scattered amongst his minions with a heedless prodigality which won him no regard, and lent but a temporary influence to the crown. He was consequently compelled from time to time to appeal to the people; and though his parliaments were for the most part sufficiently servile, there were not wanting on some occasions indubitable evidence of the dissatisfaction which his exactions engendered. He submitted to the indignity of receiving a pension from Francis, and when this was withheld he resorted to the most illegal methods to supply his necessities. In the year 1523, Wolsey appeared in the House of Commons, and in defiance of parliamentary privileges, demanded, in an imperious and haughty manner, a fifth part of every man's goods. The scene acted on this occasion was worthy of a great council, and stands out in beautiful contrast with the obsequiousness by which the parliaments of this reign are usually characterized. Mr. Tytler well describes it in the following passage :

‘ This extravagant demand was followed by a profound silence, as it had been already agreed amongst the members that, although Wolsey should be admitted, they should not so far compromise their privileges as to enter into any debate in his presence. Surprised at such a reception, the minister waited for some moments expecting a reply, but all was still ; he then addressed himself to a particular member, who rose from his seat, and without a word resumed it ; he turned impatiently to another, and the same dumb-show was repeated. Incensed at such contemptuous treatment, he lost his temper, and broke out into reproaches : ‘ Gentlemen,’ said he, ‘ as I am sent here immediately from the king, it is not unreasonable to expect an answer ; yet here is without doubt a surprising and most obstinate silence, unless, indeed, it may be the manner of your House to express your mind by your speaker only.’ Saying this, Wolsey turned to More and required an explanation,—‘ Who first,’ says Roper, ‘ reverently falling on his knees, excused the silence of the members. They were abashed, he insinuated, at the sight of so noble a personage, his presence being sufficient to overwhelm the wisest and most learned men in the realm ; but his coming thither, he observed, was far from expedient, and contrary to the ancient liberties of the House ; and as to requiring a reply from him, individually, the thing was simply impossible. The members had indeed trusted him with their voices, but unless each could infuse the essence of their several wits into his head, he alone, in so

weighty a matter, was unable to make his grace an answer.* The cardinal probably detected the satire, and certainly understood the equivocation of this reply; and, rising up in a rage, suddenly left the House.—pp. 162, 163.

The cardinal's proposition gave rise to a protracted discussion, in the course of which he repaired again to the House, and peremptorily demanded their reasons for refusing the grant. The Commons, however, were, on this occasion, faithful to themselves, and the haughty prelate being informed that it was not their practice to speak before strangers, indignantly retired. He subsequently sent for More, and the brief dialogue which took place was characteristic of both parties. 'Would to God, Master 'More,' said Wolsey, 'you had been at Rome when I made you 'speaker.' 'Your grace not offended,' replied the other, 'so 'would I too, my lord.'

Attempts were subsequently made, in 1525, to levy money by illegal commissions, which greatly exasperated the populace, and spread dissatisfaction among the higher classes. 'How the great 'men took it,' says the chronicler Hall, 'was marvel; the poor 'cursed; the rich repugned; the lighter sort railed; and, in conclusion, all people execrated the cardinal as a subverter of the 'laws and liberties of England. For, if men should give their 'goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of 'France; and so England would be bond, and not free.' Wolsey summoned the Lord Mayor and Common-council before him, and demanded a sixth part of their property to aid the king in his projected invasion of France. They remonstrated against the proposition, and pleaded the impossibility of granting it. 'Sirs,' said the haughty, but low-minded representative of Henry, 'speak not to break the thing that is concluded; the king must 'be able to go like a prince, which cannot be without your aid. 'Forsooth, I think that half your substance were too little; it 'were better that some should suffer indigence, than that the 'king at this time should lack,—therefore, beware,—resist not, 'nor ruffle in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their 'heads.'

Such was the insolent language which this pampered minion of a heartless and cruel tyrant addressed to the people. Wolsey, however, had miscalculated his position. The metropolis was thrown into a ferment, and the inhabitants of several counties, rushing to arms, demanded a redress of grievances. The proud spirit of Henry quailed before the menacing demonstrations of his

* Roper's *Life of More*, by Singer, p. 17—20.

people. The illegal commissions were revoked, and a general pardon was granted to all who had resisted the demand.

The reign of Henry derives its deepest interest from the ecclesiastical revolution of which he was the unintentional agent. At his accession he was amongst the most devoted and zealous supporters of the papacy. His early education prejudiced him in its favour, while his love of despotic power led him to regard with extreme displeasure the popular tendency of the reformed creed. His strong hostility to Luther, was expressed in a letter to Lewis of Bavaria, soon after he had received intelligence of the reformer's movements.

‘That this fire,’ said he, ‘which has been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil, should have raged for so long a time, and be still gathering strength, has been the subject to me of greater grief than tongue or pen can express; and this not only, my dear friend, on your account, but from my regard for the welfare of Christendom. For, whether we look to the traditions of your ancestors, or consult your historical records, can there be found a single instance where that most indomitable country of yours, which has ever been the firmest citadel of the church in its affliction, has either knowingly admitted any seeds of heresy into its bosom, or, at least, has not instantly eradicated them, if, by any oversight, they silently insinuated themselves? For, what could have happened more calamitous to Germany, than that she should have given birth to any man who (moved rather by the sinful license of his own judgment, than acting in the sincerity of Christian erudition) has dared to interpret the Divine law, the statutes of the fathers, and those decrees which have received the consent of so many ages, in a manner totally at variance with the opinion of the learned fathers of the church,—of men whose decision has been ever regarded as conclusive of the truth, proceeding, as it did, from a knowledge of Scripture altogether divine, and sanctioned by a blameless sanctity of life. His offence would have been less intolerable, had he abstained from an attack upon sacred letters,—had he not concealed the hated shapes of heresy and schism under the cloak of religion,—had he not, to gratify the pride and iniquity of his mind, consented to bring into peril the Catholic faith, and taught the flock of Christ to desert their master. Since, however, such is the premeditated falsehood of this wicked man, since these wiles of his have, by the permission of God, become so known to the whole world, that all further confutation of them is superfluous, we most earnestly implore and exhort you, by the hereditary and innate affection which we bear to your person, and by the common cause of our salvation in Christ, that you bear a willing and hearty hand in averting this destruction which overhangs us; that you delay not a moment to seize and exterminate this Luther, who is a rebel against Christ; and, unless he repents, deliver himself and his audacious treatises to the flames. Thus only will you preserve and increase your illustrious rank and your Christian name. Nor will it be alleged against you, that you permitted

sacred and divine things to be disturbed or overturned by the fraud and cunning of a single heretic, or the pride and resentment of a few persons whose enmity you wished not to encounter. To the accomplishment of this work, at once so sacred and so acceptable to God, we most readily, and from the heart, offer you of our royal favour, patronage, assistance, and even if necessary, our blood. And so we bid you happily farewell.*—pp. 132—134.

That such a man should have been the agent of our deliverance from papal superstitions, is amongst the inscrutable arrangements of that Providence which renders even the follies and vices of men subservient to its wise and benign purposes. Nor were the circumstances which led to this event less remarkable. Henry had now been married nearly twenty years to Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, when he suddenly pleaded the incestuous nature of the connexion, and resolved on obtaining a divorce. This determination, though avowedly based on scruples of conscience, had its origin undoubtedly in the passion which Henry had conceived for Anne Boleyn.

‘It has been the fashion,’ remarks Mr. Tytler, ‘of many writers of the Romish Church to represent Anne Boleyn as having led a singularly profligate life in her early youth; but there appears no ground for so slanderous an attack. That the education of a youthful and beautiful female in one of the most corrupted courts of Europe should produce austere or reserved manners, was not to be expected; but no evidence deserving of a moment’s credit has been adduced to prove the slightest impurity of life; the tales against her being evidently the after-coinage of those misguided zealots who, by destroying her reputation, weakly imagined they were performing a service to religion.’

When she first appeared at court, she was a lovely young woman in her twentieth year. She is described as possessing a rare and admirable beauty, clear and fresh, with a noble presence and most perfect shape. Her personal graces were enhanced by a cheerfulness and sweetness of temper which never forsook her, and her education had secured to her all those feminine accomplishments which were fitted to dazzle and delight a court. She danced with uncommon grace, sung sweetly, and, by the remarkable vivacity and wit of her conversation, retained the admiration of those who had at first been only attracted by her beauty.†—pp. 238, 239.

* Gerdes’ *Hist. Reform. Religionis*, vol. iv.; Append. No. xxii.

† Wyatt’s *Memoir of Anne Boleyn*, in *Cavendish’s Life of Wolsey*, vol. ii. p. 182: ‘There was at this time presented to the eye of the court, the rare and admirable beauty of the fresh and young lady, Anne Boleyn, to be attending upon the queen. In this noble imp, the graces of nature, graced by gracious education, seemed even at the first to have promised bliss unto her aftertimes. She was taken at that time to have a beauty not so whitely, as clear and fresh above all we may esteem, which appeared much more excel-

Henry first essayed the virtue of the Lady Anne, and persisting in his suit after her denial, was met by the spirited and virtuous reply: 'I understand not, mighty king, how you should entertain any such hope. Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already. Your mistress, be assured, I will never be.' Unhappily for the reputation of Anne Boleyn, a powerful party has identified its reputation with the establishment of her guilt, and hence the credence which has been given to the slanders of Sanders, and the acrimonious invectives of Cardinal Pole. Dr. Lingard, whose theological prepossessions are so discredibly conspicuous throughout his history, has discanted on her alleged improprieties with a minuteness which may well impose on his readers. Nothing, however, can be more slender or unsatisfactory than the basis on which his theory is constructed. The slightest examination is sufficient to explode it. It falls to pieces the moment it is submitted to examination, and gives place to the conviction that Anne—if not the most virtuous of her sex—evinced a self-respect and moral decorum far from prevalent in her day. She was indeed light and vain, proud of her beauty, and flattered by the conquest she had made. But the utmost suspicion that can be attached to her is, that her prudence failed her at the end of a five years' courtship,—but even this is uncertain. Her marriage took place on the 25th of January, and the Princess Elizabeth was born on the 7th of September.* 'If a late historian,' says Mr. Hallam, referring to Dr. Lingard, 'had contented himself with commenting on these dates, and the clandestine nature of the marriage, he would not have gone beyond the limits of that character of an advocate for one party which he has chosen to assume. . . . But when this author asserts Henry to have cohabited with her for three years, and repeatedly calls her his mistress, when he attributes Henry's patience with the pope's chicanery to 'the infelicity of Anne,' and all this on no other authority than a letter of the French ambassador, which amounts hardly to evidence of a transient rumour, with what face can he put forward the least pretensions to historical candour.'†

The defence of Anne Boleyn from the slanderous accusations of the Romish party, must not be understood to imply any

lent by her favour, passing sweet and cheerful, and these also increased by her noble presence of shape and fashion, representing both mildness and majesty more than can be expressed.'

* Hall and Holinshed state the marriage to have taken place November the 14th; but Craumer, writing to Hawkins, Henry's Ambassador to Charles the Fifth, says it occurred 'much about Sainte Paules daye,' which was the 25th of January. This letter may be seen in Ellis's Letters, II. 34.

† Const. Hist. i. 84.

justification of the proceedings adopted against the queen. Those proceedings, it is true, were urged on by Cranmer and other favourers of the Reformation, but their authority must not be permitted to blind our judgment to the dark passions and base policy of the king. Cranmer probably gave Henry credit for a conscientiousness, which few, in the present day, will be disposed to cede to him; and the scruples which influenced his judgment, were entertained by a large majority of the theologians of Europe. The levitical code was then deemed an authoritative rule of conduct.

The situation of Catherine was touching in the extreme. A foreigner, in a strange land, she was basely sacrificed by the monarch on whose honour she had confided, and to whom she had been a faithful and dutiful wife for nearly twenty years. The bloom of her youth was now passed away, but the firmness of her character, and the untainted purity of her heart, enabled her to meet the terrible crisis with queenly dignity. Even Henry was compelled to admit that she was a woman, 'incomparable in gentleness, humility, and buxomness;' and with a degree of hypocrisy which increases our detestation of his character, he affirmed, 'If I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely chuse her above all other women.' The eulogy of the king was not needed. Her character was above his praise. It was no exaggeration of the poet when he made her rival acknowledge that she was

'So good a lady, that no tongue could ever
Pronounce dishonour of her.'

The dark tragedy now proceeded to its consummation. Campeggio arrived in London, October 7, 1528. He was an eminent canonist, well versed in all the arts of papal diplomacy, and was commissioned by the pope, in connexion with Wolsey, to adjudge the king's cause. Henry expected a speedy termination of his suit, but the legate brought imperative instructions to prolong the proceedings, and in no case to pronounce judgment without first communicating with Rome. It was Clement's interest to gain time, and this was effectually done by the dilatory and subtle policy of his emissary. Month after month was consumed in preliminary arrangements. At length the legates held their court, in the Great Hall of the Blackfriars. Henry sat in state on their right hand, and Catherine was on their left. It was a memorable scene, which must have struck deeply into the hearts of the spectators. The king promptly replied to the summons of the court, but the queen was too much absorbed to hear her name. It was repeated, and she awoke from her reverie. Rising from her

chair, she crossed herself with fervour, and approaching the king, threw herself on her knees, and addressed to him one of the most touching appeals which ever proceeded from woman's lips.

'Sir,' said the daughter of Ferdinand, 'I beseech you, for all the love that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right; take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions. I have here no assured friend, much less impartial counsel, and I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas, sir! wherein have I offended you, or what occasion given you of displeasure; have I ever designed against your will and pleasure, that you should put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness, that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure. Never have I said or done aught contrary thereto, being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much; neither did I ever grudge in word or countenance, or show a visage or spark of discontent. I loved all those whom you loved, only for your sake, whether I had cause or no, whether they were my friends or mine enemies. This twenty years I have been your true wife, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of this world, which yet hath been no default in me; and when ye married me at the first, I take God to be my judge I was a true maid; and, whether it be true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any just cause by the law that ye can allege against me, either of dishonesty or any other impediment, to banish and put me from you, I am contented to depart, albeit to my great shame and dishonour; and if there be none, then here I most lowly beseech you let me remain in my former estate, and receive justice at your hands.'—pp. 262, 263.

But Henry was not to be diverted from his purpose. He saw the impression which Catherine's appeal had made, yet his dark heart responded not to her appeal. He at once acknowledged her virtues, and urged forward his suit. But unexpected obstacles were now interposed. Catherine appealed to Rome, and Campeggio refused to give sentence, before he had submitted the case, with all the evidence which he had taken, to the pope. Henry bitterly complained of the chicanery of the papal court, and suspecting Wolsey of having betrayed his interests, he sacrificed him to his enemies. It was at this moment, when the king's heart was distracted by a thousand emotions of disappointed hope and of embittered rage; when he was purposing one instant to break with the pope, and half resolving the next to abandon his long cherished scheme; that a new favourite was introduced, whose bold counsel and deep sagacity determined the wavering policy of the monarch. Cromwell had for some time ranked amongst Wolsey's retainers, without obtaining the promotion which his

ambition craved; and he now determined to seek an interview with Henry, in the hope of advancing his fortunes. The following passage is descriptive of his introduction and success.

‘The state of the royal mind, wavering between its wishes and its fears, was not unknown to him; and it can scarcely be doubted, that this able and artful man, when he declared to Cavendish his resolution to advance or to hazard his fortunes upon a cast, had the project in his head which at once brought him into notice. ‘He felt,’ he said, when introduced to the king, ‘his boldness in presuming to advise, and his inability to become a counsellor; but the sight of his sovereign’s anxiety, and his affection as well as duty, compelled him to address him. He acknowledged that the question regarding the divorce was not without difficulties; but, in his opinion, the embarrassment arose principally out of the timidity of his majesty’s ministers, who were deceived by appearances, and misled by vulgar opinion. Already the Universities and the most learned divines had given an opinion in favour of the divorce,—nothing was wanting but the confirmation of the pope. And with what object was the papal approbation so anxiously desired? It might indeed have some beneficial effect in moderating the indignation of the emperor; but was it so imperatively necessary that, if refused, Henry ought silently to submit and surrender his right? Had other princes done so? Did not his majesty live in the same age with the princes of Germany,—and what had they done? They had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and had proclaimed their independence of the popedom. Why then might not the King of England, strengthened by the authority of his Parliament, declare himself the head of the church within his own realm? At this moment England was little else than a monster with two heads. But,’ said he, ‘every contradiction, every difficulty would disappear, if your majesty would take into your own hands the authority now usurped by the pontiff. The clergy would then become obsequious to your will, when they were placed on an exact level with your other subjects. At present they considered themselves not so much the king’s as the pope’s subjects. They took, indeed, the oath of allegiance, but they were afterwards released from this obligation, and sworn anew to the pope; so that your majesty,’ said he, ‘is but half a king, and they but half your subjects.’ In this bold address, it will be seen that Cromwell brought before the king two ideas which were entirely new to him. The first, a project for claiming the supremacy; the second, a design for placing the whole body of the clergy within his power. When he had done, the monarch pondered for a few moments, and regarding the speaker with a piercing look, demanded if he could prove what he had last said. Cromwell drew from his pocket a copy of the oath administered to the bishops at their consecration, read it over, explained the manner in which the clergy had brought themselves within a charge of treason, and demonstrated that by the statutory law their lives and possessions were at the mercy of the king. Henry was convinced and delighted; his mind seized on the new ideas suggested by his able and unscrupulous adviser with its characteristic impetuosity and vigour;

he warmly thanked Cromwell, took him into his service, promoted him to the seat of a privy-councillor, and determined to follow out his suggestion.'—307—309.

Cranmer subsequently pronounced the marriage of Henry and Catherine to be null and void, and confirmed that which the monarch had contracted with Anne Boleyn. The authority of the papacy was thus despised, and its power defied. The king stood in an attitude of open hostility towards the successor of St. Peter, and was precipitated into a course of measures from the spiritual character and bearing of which his heart was utterly estranged. His separation from the papacy having originated from so questionable a source, was destitute both of the principle and the consistency of a religious movement. He vacillated from side to side—approximated to protestantism and drew back to popery—according to the revolutions of his domestic circle, or the whims of the passing hour. In one thing he was impartial, and this grew out of his arbitrary and ferocious disposition. He knew no distinction between the papist who denied his supremacy, and the protestant who rejected the real presence. The one was hung and quartered as a traitor, the other was burnt as a heretic. They were sometimes conveyed to Smithfield on the same hurdle,—victims of the most heartless and sanguinary tyranny which England had ever known.

The character of the king now rapidly assumed a darker and more ferocious aspect. All the worst passions of a depraved mind were brought into play. Anne Boleyn was soon sacrificed to his brutal passions, and many others, more illustrious in name and more worthy of respect, experienced a similar fate. Executions rapidly followed each other, and every class of society was made to furnish its victim. More and Fisher, and Cromwell—men of different characters, but each possessed of powerful claims on the gratitude of Henry—were dismissed from his service to the block. The taste of blood aroused the savage passions of the monster in human form, and set him in deadly hostility against his race.

The rise and fortunes of Cranmer form an interesting episode in the reign of Henry. The archbishop was an estimable and pious man, who slowly worked his way out of the trammels of popish superstition. His private character was irreproachable, and his natural disposition, mild and benignant. Both his friends and his enemies have failed to do him justice. He was neither the saint nor the demon that they respectively affirm. His character was a singular compound of virtues and weaknesses. In a private station the former only would have been seen; but unhappily for his fame, his rapid promotion and difficult post

afforded ample opportunities for the display of the latter. His introduction to Henry was unsought. It arose from some remarks on the king's cause, casually made to Fox and Gardiner, Henry's Almoner and Secretary, whom Cranmer met at Waltham Abbey, in Essex. These remarks were reported to the king, who forthwith required his attendance at court. This took place about August, 1529; and the king being pleased with his counsel, 'and observing,' as Strype remarks, 'the gravity and modesty, as well as learning of the man, resolved to cherish, and make much of him.' He was speedily dispatched to Germany, France, and Italy, to obtain the judgments of the most eminent divines; and, on the death of Warham, in 1532, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer was strongly disinclined to this appointment. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his professions. They were in accordance with the whole tenor of his life, and naturally sprung from his reluctance to admit the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. At length he ventured to acquaint the king with his scruples; but Henry was not to be moved from his purpose. His present policy required that the appearance of submission to the Pope should be preserved; and Dr. Olivet, an eminent civilian, consequently suggested, that some one should be sent to Rome to take the oath of canonical obedience, and that Cranmer should take it under protestation. To this dishonourable expedient he assented, declaring at his consecration, 'That he did not admit the pope's authority any farther than it agreed with the express word of God; and that it might be lawful for him at all times to speak against him, and to impugn his errors, when there should be occasion.*' It is impossible to justify Cranmer's conduct on this occasion. Every unprejudiced mind will instantly respond to Dr. Lingard's observation, 'that oaths cease to offer any security, if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations, made without the knowledge of the party, who is principally interested.' The pope's bulls for Cranmer's consecration were obtained on the express stipulation of his taking a certain oath, and would have been indignantly refused if his intended protestation had been known. That protestation was not explanatory of the oath, but directly subversive of it, and was designed to leave Cranmer open to prosecute measures incompatible with the policy and interests of the papacy. Yet protestant writers have been too prone to extenuate the obliquity of this proceeding. Let a Catholic prelate have acted the part which Cranmer acted, and a very different judgment would have been pronounced. So perverting is the in-

* Strype's Cranmer, i. 24.

fluence of party spirit, even in the plainest questions of common morality.

Cranmer's subsequent career was chequered. He was honestly attached to the Reformation, and did the utmost that his slavish deference to the king permitted, to promote its advancement. But his hands were tied by dread of his master's displeasure, and his moral influence must have been impaired by the part he was compelled to take in the intrigues and dark tragedies of this reign.

So far as an intentional advancement of religious freedom is concerned, posterity owes nothing to Cranmer. He prepared indeed its way, but it was with no view of establishing its reign. By appealing from the authority of Rome to the word of God, he attacked the strong-hold of the 'Man of Sin;' and by circulating the inspired writings in the vernacular tongue, he aroused the intellect and conscience of the nation. But farther than this he would not go. Authority was as dear to Cranmer as to More and Fisher, and the views on which he acted, if capable of vindication, justify his murderers in lighting his funeral pile. The interest which he uniformly retained in the affections of his royal master, is one of the most singular phenomena of this reign. His enemies attribute it to his unscrupulous compliance with the tyrant's pleasure, while his friends resolve it into his transparent and saintly integrity. A medium hypothesis will account more satisfactorily for the fact. Had he been less supple or less virtuous, he would have been conducted from his master's embraces to the block. The adherents to the old faith frequently plotted against his life, and were sometimes on the very point of accomplishing their design. The fall of Cromwell, and the divorce of Henry from his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, emboldened their machinations and threatened serious danger to the unsuspecting prelate. The following passage graphically describes the dark intrigues of his enemies, and the capricious generosity of the king.

'But although baffled in this attempt against the archbishop, his enemies soon made a more desperate effort for his destruction, in which he was once more protected from their malice by the prompt and generous interposition of the king. As the story strikingly illustrates the character of the times, and presents Henry in one of those attitudes of mercy and justice which he so rarely assumed, I need make no apology for giving it with those minute details which have been fortunately preserved by a contemporary. At the instigation of the Bishop of Winchester, the Duke of Norfolk and others of the Romish party in the privy-council, repaired to his majesty, and made a formal complaint against the primate: 'insisting that he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole land with their doctrine, that three parts of the people were become abominable heretics. It might prove dangerous,'

they said, 'to the realm, being likely to produce such commotions as were sprung up in Germany; and therefore they desired that he should be committed to the Tower until he could be examined.' To this the king was unwilling to accede; but they told him, 'that the archbishop being one of the privy-council, no man would dare to object matters against him until he were in confinement; then indeed men would be bold to tell the truth and say their consciences.' Upon this his majesty gave his consent that they should next day summon him before them, and if they saw just reason, commit him to the Tower.

'The king, however, had other designs in view, and about eleven o'clock, the same night, sent a messenger to the archbishop at Lambeth, desiring him to come immediately to Westminster; upon which the prelate, who was in bed, got hastily up and repaired to his majesty, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. Henry informed him what a bitter complaint the council had brought against him; 'they had affirmed that he and his learned men had infected the whole realm with heresy; they had asserted that, as he was at liberty and a member of the privy-council, none would venture to bring against him those accusations which otherwise could easily be substantiated. I have, therefore,' said he, 'granted their request, and given them permission to send you to the Tower; have I done well or no? what say you, my lord?' Cranmer humbly expressed his thanks to his sovereign for having given him this timely notice. He observed, 'that he was very well contented to go to the Tower, since it would lead to a more impartial examination of his doctrines and actions; nor did he doubt but his majesty would see that he should have a fair hearing.' The king for a moment turned his eyes full on the archbishop, as if he would read his inmost thoughts, and then smiling, cried out, 'Oh, Lord God! what fond simplicity have you, thus easily and contentedly, to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you! Do you not know that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, who else, now you are at liberty, would not once dare to open their lips, or appear before your face? No, not so, my lord. I have more regard for you than to permit your enemies to overthrow you in this manner; and therefore I will have you come to-morrow to the council, which, no doubt, will send for you. And when they break this matter, require them, that, being one of them, you may have so much favour as they would have themselves, that is, to have your accusers brought before you; and if they oppose this, and will not comply with your request, but must needs commit you to the Tower, then do you appeal from them to our person, and give to them this ring (taking it at the moment from his finger), which ring they well know I use for none other purpose but to call matters from the council into mine own hands to be ordered and determined. The king having said this dismissed his chaplain, who thanked his majesty for his goodness, and took his leave.

'Next day, at eight in the morning, a message was brought from the privy-council, requiring Cranmer to appear before them. When he

arrived he was not permitted to enter, but was kept waiting, with the servants and ushers, nearly an hour at the door of the chamber,—many of the members of the council going in and out in the mean time. The archbishop's secretary, who attended him, being astonished at this rude treatment, slipt away and related the matter to Dr. Butts, the king's physician, who went to the palace and told him he had seen a strange sight. 'What is that?' said Henry. 'Marry,' said the doctor, 'my Lord of Canterbury is become a lacky or a serving-man; for, to my knowledge, he hath stood among them this hour at the council-chamber door.'—'Have they served my lord so?' said Henry. 'It is well enough; I shall talk with them by-and-by.' At length the archbishop was called in, when it was intimated to him, that a great complaint was made of him, both to the king and to them, that he and others had infected the realm with heresy; and therefore it was the royal pleasure that they should commit him to the Tower, in order that he might be examined and brought to his trial.

'The primate, in reply, offered many reasons to induce them to call his accusers before him in that place and at that moment; and, on being confronted with them, to suffer him to defend himself against their charges, before they should proceed to any farther extremities. But all was in vain; and he was told in a peremptory manner that he must go to the Tower. 'Then,' said Cranmer, 'I am sorry, my lords, that you drive me to the necessity of appealing from you to his majesty, who, by this token,' showing them the ring, 'hath resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you thereof.'

'The sight of the king's signet, and the suddenness of its appearance, appalled the council. Lord Russell swore a great oath, and, turning upon them, exclaimed, 'Did not I tell you, my lords, what would surely come of this matter? I knew right well the king would never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason.' The councillors, however, having received the ring, were compelled instantly to repair to Henry; and it may easily be imagined that he received them with no very placid countenance. 'Ah, my lords!' said he, 'I thought I had had a discreet and wise council; but now I perceive I am deceived. In what an unworthy manner have you treated my Lord of Canterbury? Have you not used him like a slave, by shutting him out of the council-chamber among serving-men? Would ye be so handled yourselves?' After other words to this effect, the king, raising his voice, spoke thus:—'I would have you all know, that I esteem my Lord of Canterbury to be as faithful a man towards me as any prelate in this realm ever was; and one,' added his majesty, laying his hand upon his heart, 'to whom I am many ways beholden by the faith I owe unto God; and, therefore, whosoever loveth me will, upon that account, regard him.' Upon this his submissive auditors retired, and Cranmer, during the remainder of this reign, escaped from any further attacks.'—pp. 242—246.

In closing our remarks, we cannot too strongly recommend to our readers the volume which has given rise to them. Mr.

Tytler's previous reputation as a historical writer, led us to calculate on finding in his present publication, extensive research, combined with sound judgment and strict impartiality. In this expectation we have not been disappointed, and we cordially commend the volume to all who are interested in the history of their country. It is at once condensed and luminous,—popular, yet solid;—sufficiently restricted in size to meet the views of the general reader, yet capable of aiding the researches and of increasing the knowledge of the more advanced student of history. We shall be much surprised if it does not have an extensive circulation.

Art. III. *Notes of a Short Tour through the Midland Counties of Ireland, in the Summer of 1836; with Observations on the Condition of the Peasantry.* By the Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST WRIOTHESLEY NOEL. 12mo. London: Nisbet & Co. 1837.

THIS is a very interesting volume, but its chief value consists, not in any novel views or original information,—for what remains to be told respecting the miseries and wrongs of Ireland?—but in the weight which will deservedly attach to the fearless, candid, independent testimony of one who, standing aloof from all parties, political or ecclesiastical, states his honest convictions as to the facts of the case. Should Mr. Noel be so fortunate as to obtain a hearing on the strength of his high reputation, his volume will do incalculable good. His attachment to Protestantism (that is, to the faith of the Reformation) will not be questioned; and yet he has the courage to stand forward as the apologist for the poor misgoverned Roman Catholics. He defends the National system of education as the only one adapted to the present state of Ireland; and he has even something to say on behalf of Maynooth. And yet, there is no false delicacy or false charity shown in his manner of speaking of Popery. He vindicates the Achill Mission; exposes the scandalous proceedings of M'Hale and his ruffianly subordinates; and, while he honestly confesses that Maynooth *does not come behind the University of Cambridge in the attention given there to the public exposition of the Bible*, he thus deploras the pernicious effects of the system of education pursued there.

‘I could not but reflect with melancholy interest on the prodigious moral power lodged within the walls of that mean, rough-cast, and white-washed range of buildings, standing, without one architectural

recommendation, on that dull and gloomy flat. What a vomitory of fiery zeal for worthless ceremonies and fatal errors! Thence, how the priestly deluge, issuing like an infant sea, or rather like a fiery flood from its roaring crater, pours over the parishes of Ireland, to repress all spiritual improvement by their anti-protestant enmities and their cumbrous rites! For those poor youths themselves, many of them with ingenuous countenances, I felt a deeper pity still. There, before they know it, to be drilled and practised for their hopeless warfare against the kingdom of Christ; there to imbibe endless prejudices fatal to themselves and others; there to be sworn upon the altars of superstition to an interminable hatred of what they call heresy,—which is, indeed, pure and undefiled religion,—to have prejudice blacken into malice against those who love God; to have all their worldly interests thenceforth identified with priestcraft; to settle down, perhaps, after a fearful struggle between interest and conscience, into epicurean scepticism; perhaps in some instances, to teach the people to adore what they know to be a bit of bread; to curse them from the altar for what they themselves believe to be a right and a duty, the perusal of the Word of God; and lastly, to despise them for trembling at the impotent malediction.'—pp. 353, 354.

Much of this would equally apply, however, to any Roman Catholic seminary; to the Continental Romish Colleges as well as to the Irish. The number of students now at Maynooth is about 450; and about 140 students for the priesthood are educated in the Irish College at Paris, at Rome, Salamanca, Lisbon, and in several French seminaries. Now, unless it can be shown that the Maynooth priests uniformly prove more ignorant, more intolerant, or more turbulent than the average of those who are trained in foreign colleges, no case is made out against the Maynooth system as pre-eminently vicious in its influence. In fact, the general state of collegiate education, Protestant as well as Popish, presents too much reason for melancholy contemplation. Is it at Maynooth only, that ingenuous youths are sworn upon the altar of bigotry to an interminable hatred of what they are taught to deem heresy, but which is indeed pure and undefiled religion, and have their prejudices blacken into malice against those who love God? Is it within Romish cloisters alone, that candidates for the sacred office learn to identify their worldly interests with priestcraft? Would that it were so, and that Maynooth were the only collegiate institution in the British islands which stands in need of thorough purification!

Mr. Noel's remarks upon the National System of Education are particularly valuable. 'Every real patriot,' he admits, 'ought to set himself against the proposal to dissociate national education from scriptural instruction in this country.' But Ireland is in a peculiar state; 'and if it be impossible to have the Bible in

‘the National schools, owing to a widely extended prejudice, ‘then, rather than that the people should be left in ignorance, ‘National Schools ought to be established without the Bible, but ‘with a volume of scriptural extracts; or, if that again prove impossible, without religious instruction altogether.’ Schools for general instruction, Mr. Noel maintains, ‘must be had; and if ‘we cannot establish such schools as we could wish, we must ‘multiply such as we are able.’ Against this common-sense view of the subject, however, specious objections have been raised, which he briefly examines. The scandalous allegations, that the National system *takes away* the Bible from the poor,—that it *hinders* scriptural education,—that it casts dishonour upon the Bible,—that it mutilates the Scriptures,—are soon disposed of: they originate in the perverseness of party spirit, never very heedful of facts. To the objection, that the Scripture Extracts, not being enforced, are not in fact used, and that the education is therefore atheistic, Mr. Noel replies: That, in the schools which he visited, he generally found proof that they were in use; and, according to returns made to the Commissioners, out of 352 schools, 285, or above four-fifths, were in the practice of using them. But, suppose the worst; that these schools are wholly without religious instruction, is a Protestant Government to withhold the means of useful knowledge from a Roman Catholic population because it will not receive the Bible at its hands? Many objectors would not hesitate to reply in the affirmative, on the ground, that ‘all knowledge without religious principle is ‘mischievous, because it confers the power to do greater evil.’ This is the strong-hold of the enemies of popular education; and Mr. Noel fairly grapples with the insidious argument.

‘The nature of this objection is as follows: Knowledge may be used by a wicked man as a means of doing mischief; therefore, keep the Roman Catholic people in ignorance. Let us apply this argument in other things. Health and strength will make a rogue more daring, more mischievous; therefore render every labourer a sickly cripple. . . . If, indeed, it could be shown that knowledge is much more uniformly injurious than ability, wealth, or bodily strength, it might be a reason for not imparting it; but the very contrary is the fact. In the case before us, knowledge alone, simple, secular knowledge, without the slightest acquaintance with Protestantism, would be a greater blessing to the Irish peasantry than any other, except religious instruction, which it would be in the power of England to communicate. Teach them the knowledge of agriculture, and you will enable them to receive three times their present returns from their soil. . . . Superstition cannot endure knowledge and reflection; and if the people are but taught, popery, with every other imposture practised on human ignorance, will certainly share the fate of

Mahommedanism and Hindooism, which are waning before the increasing civilization of the world.'—pp. 314—316.

Our Author evinces his sound judgment, and his competent acquaintance with the causes of the complicated evils of the social system in Ireland, by not proposing either education or any thing else as a specific remedy, a panacea for the disease. Education will not rescue the famishing thousands from periodical destitution. The Bible will not save them from the terrific effects of a redundant (because unemployed) population. Emigration is like topical bleeding, which may be necessary to relieve an inflamed part, but cannot have a curative effect, except as enabling nature to do her part, or allowing medicine to act upon the system. But, when the uncultivated lands of Ireland are considered, of which 4,900,000 are thought to be improvable, it is surely a worse than Irish blunder, to have recourse to a forced and costly emigration. A Poor Law Bill is a *sine qua non* in order to the introduction of a better system; but its efficacy as a remedial measure will absolutely depend, like that of ingredients in a prescription, upon the mode in which it is combined with other plans for relieving the able-bodied population by employing them. Unless the greatest care be taken, both in the framing and in the administration of the law, Mr. Noel remarks, the remedy will be worse than the disease. One frightful evil under which the community are suffering, the Legislature can do little or nothing to abate; we refer to the 'monster appetite' of spirit-drinking. 'This one gigantic vice,' says our Author, 'is strong enough to drag Ireland down to misery, were she prosperous; and now, with its iron heel upon her neck, declares that she shall never rise from her abject and hopeless degradation.' The whole cost of spirits to the consumers throughout Ireland, is estimated at the almost incredible sum of six millions sterling per annum; being considerably more than the whole amount expended for the relief of the poor in England and Scotland! Four-fifths of the crimes of Ireland are believed to be attributable to the use of spirituous liquors, as at least their proximate cause. But spirit-drinking, while it drags down the poor to more squalid poverty, tearing their rags from their backs, and snatching their food from their lips, is, to a great extent, the result of the widespread and hopeless pauperism. It is the readiest and cheapest way of allaying the gnawings of hunger, and deadening the sense of external privation and nakedness. It springs from the degradation which it consummates. What then is to be done? We answer in the words of Major Kennedy's title-page, 'Instruct them,—employ them.' Give them education, give them the Bible, preach to them the Gospel; but give them also land to

cultivate, or give them an interest in the cultivation of the land, by rendering their labour a thing of price and value, which at present it is not. The dairy-ground system must be abolished as a first step to any economical improvement. Upon the landlords of Ireland rest the chief burden of guilty responsibility. There are noble and generous exceptions; but it is indisputable, that, to their reckless, heartless, improvident, tyrannical conduct, far more than to any other cause, the wretched condition of the Irish peasantry is attributable. How well their solemn trust has been generally executed, 'let,' says Mr. Noel, 'the mean hovels and half-naked forms scattered over princely territories declare.' No; it is not Popery on the one hand, nor the Protestant church on the other, which has robbed, and beggared, and trampled upon the people, but an alien aristocracy domineering in the spirit of '*a garrison*'* over a subjugated and plundered country.

How much a few upright and humane resident proprietors may accomplish towards meliorating the condition and raising the character of their tenantry, the instances detailed in Mr. Noel's pages satisfactorily evince; and we would fain hope that his faithful appeal to Protestant landlords will have some beneficial effect. After pointing out their duty as landlords, he thus adverts to their religious obligations:

'Is it not discreditable to them, when nearly all the landed property is in their hands, that the appropriation clause of the Tithe Bill should occasion such a general panic, and that the extinction of tithe, whenever conceived as possible, should be reckoned tantamount to the extinction of Protestantism in Ireland? A Protestant ministry extinguished, while fourteen-fifteenths of the land is Protestant! Why! where is their fear of God, if they would not find means to maintain their pastors, should the State provision be withdrawn? Sure I am, that it would be an obvious and undeniable duty. Christ has both ordained that the Gospel should be every where preached, and that the pastor should every where be maintained. And I know not how those who disobey both these commands can consider themselves his consistent followers. *The alienation of the entire church property in Ireland, should such a catastrophe occur, ought not to dismiss a single faithful minister from her shores.*'—pp. 380, 381.

* This very expression was used by Earl Roden, in opposing the National System of Education in the House of Lords, in April, 1833: 'The Protestants have been the English garrison in Ireland since the time of Henry VIII!!'

Art. IV. *Lectures on Intellectual Philosophy.* By the late JOHN YOUNG, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in Belfast College. London: Whittaker. 8vo.

ALTHOUGH the contrast which subsists between the whole economy of man, and that even of the most sagacious of the brute creation, has continued in every age to present a grand memorial of the superior and wonderful nature of mind—it is not difficult to account for the fact, that the cultivators of mental science have always borne but a small proportion to the number of those who have directed their attention to the philosophy of the material world. The objects of nature make their appeal to every eye; and we cannot go back, in imagination, to the period when we first woke up to the beauty and grandeur of creation—when we did not feel awed at the coming storm, nor gaze with delight and curiosity on the rainbow, nor desire to know whether the brilliant meteor that darts along the nocturnal sky, were really a shooting star. The sounds of nature, too, attract every ear, whether heard in the agitation of the elements, or in the tones and cries of animals. In short, there is something so arresting to the senses, and so obtrusive and permanent and stable in the various objects that surround us, that, during our waking hours, we never for a moment lose the impression of the outward universe. In infancy, we are wholly the creatures of sensation; and, in after life, it requires a certain degree of abstraction, matured by habit, in order to be able to dwell readily on the internal mechanism of thought and feeling. Mind, and the mode in which it carries on its functions, are so shrouded and hidden behind the veil of materialism, that the phenomena of thought are apt to be one of the last objects to which the attention would naturally be turned. Here all is impalpable, shadowy, and immaterial; and it is no wonder that operations of a nature so peculiar, and apparently so recondite, as those of the mind, should be later in attracting the attention even of the inquisitive, than the more obvious phenomena, which the surrounding universe every where presents to view.

The very circumstance that the ordinary and most pressing wants of man, as a physical being, are felt to bear a far more immediate relation to materialism than to his own intellectual nature, has, no doubt, aided in drawing the attention of mankind chiefly to the properties of external objects. It is true that an artificial stimulus may be given to any one branch of study, and it may thus obtain a popularity which it might not otherwise have gained, however meritorious in itself. This principle has often been exemplified; and its influence has been strongly marked in the varieties of literary and scientific character, which have been

manifested by different academical institutions of the highest class. In our own country, for example, classical learning has reigned almost sole and triumphant; and, in one of the English universities only, mathematics alone disputes the sceptre with it. While this science bids fair to retain the ascendancy at Cambridge, every attempt to introduce improvements into the system of education in Oxford is regarded as a sacrilegious violation of the claims of the *antiquæ disciplinæ*, and an invasion of their ancient reign. The philosophy of man, as an intellectual being, has been almost entirely neglected at both the legitimate sanctuaries of knowledge; the chief amount of encouragement being recorded in the occasional question, *Rectè statuit Lockius?* Even *physical* science has either formed no ingredient in the materials of academic training, or has only been pursued, in its abstract forms, as a part of mathematics. Classics and Mathematics have constituted the high road to fame, favour, and emolument. In the English universities these departments of learning have been what the Germans call the *Brodwissenschaften*.

Among the causes that have operated unfavourably in regard to the study of the laws of *mind*, as a branch of higher education, has been the vulgar prejudice excited by the very name of *metaphysics*. Harmless as is this term in its origin, which is too well known to need repetition here,—no word, probably, in the whole nomenclature of human knowledge, since the downfall of the scholastic philosophy, has attracted to itself so much odium. Metaphysics, even to this day, in the minds of the uninitiated, is frequently only another name for what is unintelligible; and metaphysical discussion is regarded as a certain mode of endeavouring to blind and bewilder the minds of honest people with abstract and useless quibbles, which bear the same relation to plain unvarnished reason, that certain quirks and mystifications which find a shelter in the still uncleansed Augean stable of the English law, bear to straightforward equity. Hence the absurd distinction which has sometimes been set up between metaphysics and common sense, as though there were any sense at all in any thing but the genuine love of truth, and the determination to embrace it, be it found where it may. This prejudice, however, is very natural in those who are not tolerably well acquainted with the history of human knowledge; particularly with the intellectual follies of the middle ages, when scholars disputed only for the sake of disputation, and made what was in itself beyond the limit of human inquiry a double mystery by their mode of treating it. The Inductive Philosophy of the Human Mind has been confounded with the Ontology and Pneumatology of the Schools; and those who are not aware of the very opposite principles on which it is conducted are sometimes apt to regard all

speculations which offer to rise above the tangible and the material as equally mystical, vague, and futile.

We are no advocates for the system which has prevailed in certain quarters, of viewing every kind of knowledge through the medium of antiquity, forcing philosophy to bow to the wisdom of the schools of Greece, and making Plato and Aristotle the wardens of the temple of modern science. We are not of opinion that no one should be deemed worthy of being regarded as well-skilled in mental or moral philosophy, unless he be a critic in the ancient treatises.* Nor do we say this from any indifference to the literature of classical antiquity—it has been our delight from boyhood. But we think it would be as reasonable to deny the title of natural philosopher to every one who is not well acquainted with the *Principia* of Descartes: still more so, to say that he could be no mathematician who had not read, in the original, the writings of Apollonius, Archimedes, Euclid, Theodosius, or Pappus: for geometry is an ancient science, for which we are indebted to the Greeks; but the Philosophy of Mind, if we except that part of it which relates to the analysis of arguments, has been so far improved since the times of antiquity as to have become a modern science—the offspring of the era of Bacon.

The prejudice, however, that has arisen against metaphysical pursuits, in consequence of their accidental association with the disputations of the scholastics, has extended, it must be allowed, with almost equal injustice, to the earlier writers on all topics connected with man's intellectual nature; and especially to ARISTOTLE himself. It may not be right—it is not—that he should reign as dictator in the modern schools; but it is not necessary, on this account, to pull him by the beard, and to cause him to run the gauntlet with the herd of Peripatetics that have borne his name. It is enough to have dethroned him. Yet every sciolist, who has not read a page of his writings, supposes himself entitled to load him with indiscriminate vituperation, forgetful that the acumen of his understanding, his unwearied industry, his gigantic grasp of mind, and the exhaustless flood of genius which he poured over almost the whole domain of human learning, mark him out as second to none of the great master spirits of antiquity; and as, in some respects, superior to them all.

It has been unfortunate for the reputation of Aristotle, that many of his followers were so boundlessly extravagant in his

* This opinion is noticed, as having been expressed by some, even beyond the venerable cloisters of Oxford.

praise. Had he foreseen the absurdities of his future avowed followers, no man could have uttered more prophetically the aspiration, 'Deliver me from my friends!' The encomiums they heaped on his name were too ridiculous not to produce a reaction, when once the mind of man was loosened from the spell of antiquity. 'Nature,' it was said by Averrois, 'was not altogether complete till Aristotle was born; but *then* she could advance no farther.' Pardies says, 'Que si dans sa physique, Aristote a parlé en homme, dans sa morale, il a parlé en Dieu: qu'il y a sujet de douter si, dans ses morales, il tient plus du jurisconsulte que du prêtre; plus du prêtre que du prophète; plus du prophète que de Dieu!' Again, how can it be matter of surprise that a lasting prejudice should have fixed on a class of studies which, whether justly or unjustly, were supposed to possess any analogy with those of the 'profound,' 'marvellous,' 'perspicuous,' 'irrefragable,' 'seraphic,' and 'most resolute' doctors of the middle ages? for these were some of the titles lavished on them by their admiring disciples. What respect was likely to be retained for the τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ of the Stagyrte, when such questions were gravely proposed for solution by his followers, as—whether the mind be distinct from its being?—whether the will be an entity or a quiddity?—whether angels can see in the dark?—whether they can exist in a perfect vacuum?—whether they can pass from one point to another without passing through the intervening space?—and, how many of them can hang on the point of a needle? Such were some of the subjects which, in the middle ages, were disputed, sometimes even to blows! Surely Sir Hudibras would scarcely be a caricature of these scholastic knight-errants!

'On either side he would dispute,
 Confute, change hands, and still confute:
 He'd undertake to prove, by force
 Of argument, a man's no horse;
 He'd prove a buzzard is no fowl,
 And that a lord may be an owl,
 A calf an alderman, a goose a justice,
 And rooks committee-men, and trustees.
 He'd run in debt by disputation,
 And pay with ratiocination:
 All this by syllogism true,
 In mood and figure, he would do.'

It is by no means our intention to attempt the enumeration of the various causes which have led, more or less, to the unmerited neglect which mental science has met with in this country; but it may be proper to add, that an impression, sometimes entertained, and very prejudicial to its progress, has been, that its

principles are *uncertain*. Now, if the space allotted to us would allow, we should not hesitate undertaking to maintain the position, that this allegation is the result of an extremely superficial view of the real case. The great fundamental laws of mind are matter of daily consciousness; and, though they admit of being viewed in different relations, of being variously arranged, and enumerated to a greater or less extent, they are essentially the same, so far as they go, in the works of all authors who have written on the subject. It would be possible, for example, to select from the works of metaphysicians some thirty classes of facts, illustrative of so many laws, or exhibitions, of the one principle of *association*. Some of these are mentioned by one writer, some by another; and their nomenclature and classification may considerably vary: yet the facts remain; and the evidence of the general principles, or laws which are drawn from them, is as certain as any thing within the range of human experience.

Aristotle, in his Treatise on Memory and Reminiscence, in explaining the manner in which we endeavour to recollect something we have forgotten, says that we search for it among other ideas, on the principle of 'resemblance, contrast, or contiguity: 'and by this means recollection is produced.'* Ernesti says that 'a present idea may recal an absent one that is similar to it, 'or allied to it as a part of the same whole, or as having been 'originally received in connexion with it.† Hume enumerates three principles of connexion among ideas; namely, 'resemblance, contiguity in time and place, and cause and effect.‡ Dr. Brown, in his *primary* laws of suggestion, coincides with Aristotle. He adds nine other laws, which he terms *secondary*, showing that association varies according as the original impressions have been 'of longer or shorter continuance, more or less 'lively, more or less frequently present, more or less recent, more 'or less pure from the mixture of other feelings, as they are 'affected by differences of original constitution, or of temporary 'emotion, or the state of the body, or prior habits.§ If we could afford space also to consult Reid, Stewart, Scott, Kirwan, Mill, Abercrombie, Ballantyne, and Dr. Young, we should find our enumeration of the laws of association enlarged, indeed, and our points of view somewhat varied; but the comparison of these and other authors on this subject, would furnish a most sa-

* — ἀφ' ὁμοίου, ἢ ἐναντίου, ἢ τοῦ συνέγγυς. Διὰ τοῦτο γίνεται ἡ ἀνάμνησις.

† —Imagines præsentibus similes; vel quarum, quæ sunt præsentibus, partes sunt,—vel denique, quas cum præsentibus simul hausimus. Ernesti, Init. Doctrin. Solidioris, De Mente Humana, c. i. xvi.

‡ Hume's Inquiry concerning the Human Understanding, Sect. 3.

§ Brown's Lectures, XXVII.

tisfactory example of the real consent of philosophers, as to the circumstances under which one very important set of phenomena belonging to our intellectual nature take place. Other numerous instances might be adduced to show that, notwithstanding the apparent conflict of opinions, which to the novice appears so perplexing, there is a pretty substantial agreement respecting all the great elementary principles of the human mind.

But we must beg pardon of our readers for having so long detained them from Dr. Young's Lectures. The volume is respectably edited, and accompanied with a brief but interesting memoir, by Mr. Cairns, his colleague in Belfast College; the first academical institution for general education raised by public subscription in modern times; the first, also, to introduce mental science as a branch of education into Ireland—an institution which appears, after contending with some difficulties,* to have escaped the fate of being diverted from its original plan, as great and noble projects sometimes are in this country, by being made subservient to politics, court influence, or power.

Mr. Young's character of mind was formed before he entered on a regular course of academic study; but, though possessed of an ardent temperament, he furnished no example of that arrogant presumption and forward self-confidence of spirit which is sometimes found in men who are either self-taught, or who have been late initiated into academic learning. 'He was alive to every difficulty,' says his biographer, 'and, in examining opinions the most opposite to his own, he treated with candour all the considerations by which they were supported. He, therefore, seldom met objections with contempt, and never with flippancy.' He appears to have been equally removed from the pedantry of *one subject*, though mental and moral philosophy were his chief delight. It was not till he was twenty-seven years old that he commenced a regular course of classical study at the university of Glasgow; and, by extraordinary exertion, he attempted to supply the deficiencies of his early education. He subsequently entered the classes of Logic, and of Moral Philosophy, which, as conducted in Glasgow, have long held forth an admirable example of a truly useful and efficient intellectual training. In each of these classes Mr. Young was the successful competitor for the honour of the highest prize. When he had finished his course in the *gown-classes*, he entered the Divinity Hall, and finally took his degree of M. A. Nine years afterwards his *alma mater* conferred on him the distinction of LL.D. He died in 1829, at the age of forty-eight; and the following satisfactory testimony is borne to his moral and religious

* Memoir, p. xxi.

worth: 'He referred, in all his speculations, to Him who is the fountain of truth; and cherished an habitual regard to the great principles of natural and revealed religion. Throughout his life he retained a belief in those views of Christianity which are usually denominated evangelical; and, on his death-bed, he declared that they still met the full approbation of his mind and heart. He also uniformly cherished an affectionate regard for practical religion, and for persons of unaffected piety, with whom, indeed, he delighted to associate.'*

These lectures form a valuable digest of one part of the philosophy of mind, especially on the ground that the author appears, throughout, more desirous of arriving at truth than of giving prominence to a system. Not being designed for the press, but for the class-room, where they were filled up with much *extempore* illustration, they have been brought before the public without the author's own revision; and some alterations have been made in the original arrangement. We think certain indications may be observed, which may well be accounted for from the circumstance of the work being posthumous. We refer principally to the partial discussion of some important topics, and to the occasional summary disposal of the theories of others; but we have not been struck with any material want of consecutiveness in the train of thought. The lectures are drawn up in a plain, unambitious style, but discover, throughout, considerable acuteness, and are among the class of works on the subject of mental philosophy which are distinguished by the spirit of analysis. We allude to such works as those of Brown, Mill, and Ballantyne. Though the author does not follow the classification or the nomenclature of the first-named distinguished writer, coincidences will be found in their views, which are the more to be noticed, because Dr. Young's opinions, it appears, had been repeatedly delivered in the course of lecturing, previously to the publication of Dr. Brown's system.

The student of the laws of mind cannot be too often called on to remember that the *arrangement* of the mental facts or phenomena, and the *terminology* which is employed to designate them, may admit of considerable latitude, without affecting the facts themselves, which form the materials of the science; and which are, of course, based on human experience. Nay, even the *analyses* of certain phenomena may be, to a considerable extent, the same, amidst no small diversity of general system. We make no apology for repeating this remark, because we think it a sufficient answer to the assertion occasionally thrown out, and above alluded to, charging the philosophy of mind with uncer-

* Memoir, p. xxxi.

tainty. It may safely be affirmed that, with regard to the facts of mental science and their analysis, the same may be said, which has long been true of experimental physical science, that there is a progressive agreement among philosophers. We say nothing here of *phrenology*, because whatever opinions we form respecting it, the case is not altered; the actual manifestations of mind, rather than any alleged external prognostics of its complexion and varieties, are that with which the metaphysician has chiefly to do. Now we speak advisedly in stating our conviction, that the science of the human mind is so far independent of any particular system, that it is quite possible to conceive of the chief mental phenomena being almost equally well expounded and analysed, on different principles of classification. In this way, the following remarks, in Mr. Cairns's short Preface, which is well worthy of attention, are perfectly intelligible :

‘As the writings of Dr. Brown were among the first to familiarize the public with an improved analysis, many may be led to suppose that no others, in his time, had any conception of similar views. This volume, it is presumed, will contribute to rectify such a mistake. The substance of these lectures had been frequently delivered before Dr. Brown's system was published : while the references which now appear were introduced after its publication, for the purpose of noticing how far it coincided with what they had previously contained. The coincidence, indeed, will perhaps be found to be as close as what usually takes place, when independent and original minds engage in similar inquiries, without any previous acquaintance or concert ; while the differences which appear may sometimes be traced chiefly to expression and arrangement. The present publication, therefore, may be interesting to many, as exhibiting a striking approximation to the most approved views ; and as marking the progress of independent inquiry in the wide and varied field of metaphysical science.’

‘These Lectures, it will be observed, contain frequent references to various sources of information, and to the circumstances which suggested what may be regarded as improvements. Among others there are references to the doctrines taught by the present Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow ;* whose ingenious mode of analysis has given a salutary impulse and direction to many ardent and inquisitive minds. It is well known that he has long been accustomed to resolve the intellectual powers, according to the

* Mr. Mylne, whose method of discussing the topics, and conducting the intellectual discipline belonging to his class, well merits the above encomium.

‘method adopted in these Lectures, into sensation, memory, and judgment.’

The author of the Lectures, after giving a general outline of the topics to be discussed, proceeds to point out some of the advantages of studying the laws of mind, and successfully to refute certain objections which ignorance or prejudice has sometimes brought against it. He next discusses the subject of the classification of the mental phenomena; and, having noticed the earlier divisions into the Understanding and the Will—the Intellectual and Active Principles—Locke’s division into Sensation and Reflection—and the classifications of Hartley, Reid, Stewart, and Brown, he adopts the system which distinguished all the mental phenomena as either *Intellectual* or *Active*. The present volume does not include the survey of the Active Powers, or Emotions, but only the Intellectual; the great elementary principles of which, Dr. Young holds to be Sensation, Memory, and Judgment.

Among the classifications rejected by Dr. Young, he has discussed at the greatest length that of Dr. Thomas Brown. As the outline of this system, which has considerable claims to originality, is clearly and concisely given, we shall quote it, for the benefit of those of our readers who may not be acquainted with the writings of this celebrated metaphysician.

‘I must now direct your attention to the division of the mental powers which has lately come into notice, and is on many accounts very remarkable. I refer to the arrangement of Dr. Brown; which proceeds on the following principles:—When we consider the various states of mind, it must strike us that some arise from the impression of external objects, and others from the reflection of the mind. Thus, when we look at an oak, our perceiving it is the result of the presence of the oak, and of the rays of light which are reflected from it; but, when withdrawing our visual organs from the external object, we contemplate it in the mind, the operation is wholly internal. According to these principles, all the phenomena of mind are divided into two classes: external and internal affections. The first class is simple, and easily understood, including merely the senses from which these affections are derived; and embracing also the appetites, because they are accompanied with bodily feelings. The internal affections, however, are extremely numerous and complicated, and are therefore subdivided into two kinds, intellectual states of mind, and mental emotions. All the intellectual states are called suggestions, and are either simple or relative. Whenever any thing brings another into the mind, without any comparison being made, this is called simple suggestion; as when I know a friend by the sound of his voice: but when I see a horse and a sheep, and begin to think in what respect they agree, and in what they differ, that is called relative suggestion. Under this head are introduced the relations of position, resemblance, difference,

degree, proportion, and comprehensiveness, with the relation of the whole to its parts. Under relative suggestions, again, are placed the powers of abstraction, or generalization, and of reasoning. The second branch of our internal affections includes the emotions of wonder, beauty, sublimity, and all our passions and desires.' p. 55.

The author then proceeds to a brief critical examination of the merits of the above system; and subsequently avows his adherence to the common classification before mentioned, into the intellectual and active powers. We must confess, however, that we do not think him by any means happy in this part of his work. In saying so we do not wish to be construed as speaking in the character of disciples of Dr. Brown, but merely to be regarded as desirous of seeing justice done in an argument between one philosopher and another. Our author admits that the general plan, of which he has given the above account, appears very comprehensive and inviting; that external and internal affections are apparently very distinguishable; and that the division of our internal affections into intellectual states and emotions, seems also to have some recommendations. It appears, he allows, to mark out the distinction between those more contemplative processes of mind, where intellect chiefly attracts our attention; and those other states, in which intellect also exists, but in which the feeling or emotion, the pleasure or the pain, seems to be predominant. 'So far,' says Dr. Young, 'all is well and plausible.' He does not even insist on the obvious defect in the use of terms which is exemplified by Dr. Brown, in his employment of the word 'external,' to designate those affections which are derived from some agency on the animal frame. This term, it is evident, would naturally imply that sensation is a mere corporeal affair; and not, as is admitted on both sides, ultimately a state of the mind itself. The author merely observes, on this point, that as our sensations and appetites are as really internal, and as truly affections of the mind as any others, the word external merely marks the origin of this particular class, and seems therefore to be 'quite allowable.'

Dr. Young, however, proceeds to advance objections against Brown's division, which are founded on the principle that it was designed to achieve what was certainly never intended; and which no classification can be expected to attain:

'There is still a great difficulty,' he observes, 'in separating our external from our internal affections. Our sensations cannot for one moment become objects of distinct consideration, without the concurrence of all the internal affections—without the concurrence of our intellectual powers, and without being accompanied with some degree of emotion, or some approximation to pleasure or pain. One sensation cannot be considered as distinct from another, without memory bringing

both before the mind, to be discriminated by judgment; and our sensations may be accompanied with, or may in fact themselves constitute very high states of feeling or emotion. All our external affections come to us modified by those powers which are called internal. We are not able to catch one of them naked, and stripped of those relations with which they are invested by the intellectual powers. But, perhaps, it is still a more serious objection to this arrangement, that it includes our appetites under our external affections—thus classifying those phenomena of our constitution which are strongly marked by desire and emotion, with the sensations of colour and touch. Some very valuable purpose should surely be served, before such violence is done to our usual notions 'of arrangement.' It might be remarked, also, that the division is extremely unequal; as our external bear scarcely any proportion to our internal affections.' pp. 56, 57.

Now as the mixed character of the phenomena of mind has been universally remarked by metaphysicians, one power or capacity being rarely, if ever, called into exercise apart from others, it ought not to be supposed that any division of the mental faculties is designed to exhibit their respective processes in a state of separation from all the rest; unless, indeed, such were expressly stated to be the object of the author. Unquestionably, all that Dr. Brown has attempted is, to classify the phenomena on what he deems the most general principles, and then to present to his readers the *virtual* analysis of each given mental state; for he repeatedly insists on the very obvious fact that, here, the analysis cannot, from the nature of the mind, be *real*, as it is in the case of chemical decomposition. The object is simply to ascertain of what primary elements it appears that any class of mental states are chiefly composed, or at all events what may be regarded, to use a political phrase, as their *basis*. Now no one who reflects, can doubt that there are cases in which some strong sensation so occupies the mind, that, although it may not be attended with a suspension of the other powers, the mind may fairly be said to derive its complexion, at the time, chiefly from the predominant form of consciousness which pervades it. Those who deny this must have forgotten that they ever had the tooth-ache or the gout. Surely the desire to get rid of the pain, and of the means of doing so, which may, in the mean time, appear as co-existing with the pain, are very distinct, both from each other, and from the pain itself; and if it be wrong to distinguish sensations on the one hand, from thoughts, and reasonings, and desires on the other, because they are often blended together in one common mass of consciousness, it must be equally erroneous to divide the intellectual powers into sensation, memory, and judgment. It may be asked, would it be contended, on the author's principles, that the '*active powers*' are ever found exhibiting themselves apart from the '*intellectual*?' Judging, *à priori*,

from his general system, we think it would not. Nay, in turning back to the first lecture, we find this question virtually answered, though the present volume extends only to the discussion of the *Intellectual* powers :

‘ We shall next proceed to our active principles : when we shall inquire whether they are a distinct and independent set of powers, or whether they do not flow from the natural exercise of the understanding. We shall probably be able to show that they are all under the dominion of reason ; that they are capable of being cultivated, excited, or repressed, by the views of the mind ; and therefore that we are accountable for the manner in which we employ them. In passing from the consideration of man as an intellectual being, to contemplate his active powers, it will be an object of inquiry, whether we have got into a region completely distinct. Are his active powers something which operates independently of his reason, or are they, in fact, only the powers of the understanding in action ? Do our active powers stand out from our other powers ; or are they not merely that exercise of all our faculties which experience has led us to delight in ? Are we to affirm, with Reid, that there are a vast number of mechanical and animal principles of action, which have no connexion with our reason ? or with Hartley, that they are reared at first on the basis of our sensations and ideas ; but that they proceed afterwards without the superintendence of thought or volition ? Neither of these opinions, it will probably appear, is correct.’ p. 5.

What is intended by saying that ‘ our sensations may be accompanied with, or may in themselves, in fact, constitute very ‘ high states of feeling or emotion,’ does not appear very intelligible on any principles. Are sensations to be regarded as the same class of feelings with emotions ? Is there no difference, worthy to be remarked, between what are termed in common language, ‘ bodily pain,’ and ‘ mental anguish’ ? If not, why say that sensation may ‘ accompany’ very high states of emotion ? If there *be* a difference, how can sensation properly be said to ‘ constitute’ a very high state of emotion ? That sensation and emotion—or, in other words, that pain of body, and grief of mind, for instance, may be felt at one and the same time, we do not dispute ; but how any state, whether of body or of mind, can either accompany itself, or can constitute another state of body or mind, is beyond our comprehension. As to the arrangement of the ‘ appetites’ under sensitive or external affections, we suppose this might be defended by saying, that the whole complex state, termed *hunger*, for example, has its *origin* in an uneasy sensation, which by long association brings before the mind the idea of food, blended with a desire to partake of it. An infant, however, while yet only under the influence of instinct, might be said to be hungry. Dr. Young would place the appetites under the active principles ; but might not such an arrangement be objected

to, on the ground that this would be 'classifying phenomena of our constitution, which are strongly marked' by sensation, with emotions of the wonderful and the sublime.

To allege against any division that it is 'unequal,' is to say nothing; unless it be at the same time shown that the objects divided are *not* unequal. This can never avail as an independent objection; and we think this is one of those indigested remarks which, had the author published his own volume, he would have re-considered, before committing it to the press; though the editor might not perhaps feel himself justified in the omission. It would be quite as reasonable to find fault with the formation of a *genus* out of any of the objects of Natural History, in consequence of their being but few *species* found which could be regarded as belonging to it. Again, with what propriety, we may add, can our sensations be represented as so small a part of the mental phenomena?

Dr. Young concludes his animadversions on the classification of Brown, by complaining, that when we consider the views which it develops, 'we seem to be transported into a region of 'metaphysics, in which quite a new language is spoken.' The author has already, however, with sufficient indulgence, consented to waive objection to the term 'external,' because it is used merely to mark the origin of a certain class of mental affections; and he now further admits that he has no objection to the phrase 'intellectual states.' Indeed, he adds that he has 'long 'been in the habit of using it, instead of intellectual powers;' though, by the way, there is an obvious and very important distinction between them; for we can easily conceive of a given mental *state* as not existing at a certain moment; but we cannot suppose that the *power* of which that state is the result, does not exist unless it be in actual operation. Neither does our author, as he remarks, 'see any insuperable objection against using the 'word emotions in place of active powers.' In reference to the phrases 'simple suggestion,' and 'relative suggestion,' he asks, 'is the world ripe for such an innovation on all its established 'forms of speech, and in all its usual modes of thinking?'

Now whatever may be the merits or demerits of Brown's classification, we do not think this part of the nomenclature can be accused of any violent departure from common modes of speech. The words 'simple' and 'relative' are plain enough, and the term *suggest* is used by all persons who possess a tolerable English education, as nearly synonymous with *remind*. 'Suggestion' is used by Dr. Brown to express the class of mental parts generally termed 'Association;' and we do not see that this is by any means so great a departure from the 'established forms of speech,' employed in the 'world,' as Professor Young himself exemplifies, in making no distinction between sensation and the Intellectual

Powers; which, in the commencement of his eighth lecture, he makes to include Sensation, Memory, and Judgment. He subsequently remarks, in so many words, 'Sensation is unquestionably an intellectual faculty; for the body alone, or mere matter, shows nothing analogous to it.' We quite agree with the argument, and with the conclusion intended to be established by it; but it certainly does not accord with the ordinary language of mankind to denominate sensation an 'intellectual faculty.' It is not fair, again, to ask—'In a discourse on the powers of the human mind, too, should we not expect to hear something of Memory and of Judgment?' From this remark, one might be led to suppose that, in the philosophy of Dr. Brown, memory and judgment had no place; whereas the former is the second of those faculties which he includes, by name, under simple suggestion; and, in his fifty-first lecture, he expressly says, 'With the susceptibility of relative suggestion, the faculty of judgment, as that term is commonly employed, may be considered as nearly synonymous.' Finally, Dr. Young asks where in this system 'Perception' is to be placed? It may be replied that, so far as it is distinct from sensation, it is regarded by Brown as an intellectual affection. We may be allowed to repeat that we have made the above remarks, not with the view of subscribing to all and every thing in Dr. Brown's system, or indeed of offering any categorical opinion respecting it, but simply by way of seeing justice done to one whom all acknowledge to be a distinguished writer.

In discussing the laws of association, the author agrees almost entirely with Brown; he differs only in adding one *secondary* law; namely, 'that our associations may be regulated by the will; and may be either voluntary or involuntary.' This is undoubtedly true, and it strikes us a valuable addition to the laws which relate to this important department of our intellectual nature. For, though the will has no *direct* influence over our train of thought, the effect is, to a great extent, the same as though it had; for, by making any one existing idea among those which are passing through the mind, an object of attention, in preference to others, we may easily open up new avenues of association, which may lead us into certain regions, as it were, of thought, which may harmonize with the purpose we have in view. This fact in our mental nature is of great importance, especially in the aspect which it bears on morals.

On the much controverted subject of *extension*, Dr. Young has the following remarks:

'I felt a degree of surprise rarely experienced on such subjects, a few days ago, in perusing Dr. Brown's Lectures on Vision, where he affirms it to be the universal opinion of philosophers, that sight involves not colour merely, but extension also; and that there is a visible as

well as a tangible figure. I confess I felt very great surprise to find that I had been holding an opinion contrary to all philosophers whatever, and that Brown should be the first to hint the doctrine which I had so long believed. So much was my distrust in my own former conclusions, that I began to doubt of their truth, even although supported by his authority, which I do indeed much respect. I must confess I have found more foundation for Dr. Brown's statement, that the belief in visible extension is universal among philosophers, than I had previously expected. At the same time the assertion appears to me by no means to be correct.' p. 117.

Dr. Young also agrees mainly with the same writer on the doctrine of Causation; some of the objections against which he combats with great acuteness. He thus repels the most serious charge which is sometimes brought against the assertion that *we* are unable to perceive any thing more in cause and effect than sequence: 'It may be said that if we perceive no real connexion between the cause and the effect, then we are left without any proof of the existence of that Almighty and Incomprehensible Being who is the cause of all things. It must be remembered, however, that we have never maintained that there can be an effect without a cause: on the contrary, we have all along been asserting, that every change which takes place obliges us to believe in some objects or circumstances which immediately precede it. The creation of the world being a change, we are bound, therefore, by the constitution of our nature, to believe in some circumstance prior to it; and that circumstance must have been the will of God. But between the will of God, and the creation of the world, we see nothing interposed. He spake, and it was done!'

Notwithstanding the remarks we have made, in reference to the author's objections to Dr. Brown's system, we are of opinion that the present volume, as a whole, is a valuable addition to our stock of writings on the subject of Mental Philosophy, and will repay the student who shall peruse it. We have chosen the line of review which we have taken chiefly because we have, in this work, an exemplification, the instances of which might be multiplied, of a frequent coincidence in analysis, relative to the more recondite questions; while there is a difference of classification. Such examples tend to show what is sometimes overlooked; namely, that the laws of the human mind may, like those of external nature, frequently admit of being satisfactorily explained, independently of any particular general arrangement; though we are free to confess that one classification may be far more adapted to aid this result than another.

Art. V. *Opinions of Lord Brougham, on Politics, Theology, Law, Science, Education, Literature, &c. &c., as exhibited in his Parliamentary and Legal Speeches, and Miscellaneous Writings.* London: Henry Colburn. 12mo. 1837.

LORD Brougham needs no passport to the hearts of his countrymen. He has laboured too long and too assiduously in their service to be lightly esteemed, or hastily passed by. Other men may need an introduction, or may be indebted to the flattering reports of friends for the attention they obtain. But it is otherwise with Lord Brougham. A long list of services, extended through a life of unparalleled energy and of splendid achievement, constitute his claims on the notice and gratitude of the nation. In the worst times—when Toryism was rampant, and political profligacy a thing of daily growth—Henry Brougham was faithful to the people,—the enlightened expounder of their rights, the zealous advocate of every measure adapted to improve their condition and to elevate their minds. This is his true glory—the imperishable basis on which his fame will rest. His biography will be identified with the history of the national mind. The lives of other men, and those of no mean order, may be detailed, without light being thrown on the intellectual growth of a great people. They may have laboured faithfully in their appointed vocation, and may be worthy of the respect and veneration of posterity, but it is not necessary to an appreciation of their labours and character, that a deep insight into the spirit of their age should have been obtained. It is different, however, with Lord Brougham. He has done more to mould the character of his age than any other man living. Without extending the bounds of science, he has multiplied the number of its votaries—has peopled regions formerly inhabited by few, and given a vital energy to movements which were languid and inoperative. He found the intellect of his generation ignorant, rude, and dormant, contented with the barest pittance of knowledge, and perverted by a thousand prejudices of hourly growth. It will be his glory to leave it active and inquiring, ashamed of the past, and hopeful of the future. The light of science, formerly confined within a narrow circle, has been extended through the mass of society. It has entered the shop of the mechanic and the resort of the day-labourer, and has brought with it a humanizing influence friendly to social happiness and moral worth. The country is, in consequence, studded with institutions of a literary and scientific character, having for their object the instruction of the working classes, and supported mainly by their own contributions. These are monuments of which the loftiest genius may well be proud,

and, in comparison with which, the triumphal arch and the splendid column are insignificant and valueless.

Lord Brougham is descended from one of the most ancient families in Cumberland and Westmoreland. He was born in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, September 19, 1779, and received the rudiments of his education at the High School of that city. At the age of fifteen he entered the University, where his intellectual pre-eminence soon obtained him distinction. His love of physical science was at this time remarkable, and his attainments far beyond his years. The following brief extract from the Memoir prefixed to this volume will be read with interest :

‘ When little more than sixteen years of age his mental powers were sufficiently developed, and that too, in branches of knowledge seldom mastered in youth, to enable him to compose a paper containing a series of optical experiments, and an exposition of principles connected with that science. This remarkable production of precocious intellect was thought so worthy of attention, that it was printed in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1796. In 1798, he sent another communication, having for its object the development of certain principles and views of geometry, which, also printed in the Philosophical Transactions, excited considerable interest in the scientific world ; so much so that the vanity of the juvenile author was gratified by the publication of a reply by Professor Prevost, of Geneva, as well as by favourable notices in several continental publications. In addition to these palpable evidences of early proficiency, he carried on a correspondence in Latin, on scientific subjects, with several of the most distinguished philosophers on the continent. One of the speedy consequences of these studies, and their fruits, was, that in March, 1803, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, although his formal admission did not take place till the spring of 1804.’—pp. 3, 4.

Lord Brougham first practised at the Scotch bar, but subsequently removed to England, where his legal reputation and oratorical powers soon achieved his professional success. He was returned to parliament in 1810, for the borough of Camelford, on the vacancy caused by the removal of the present Marquis of Lansdowne to the Upper House. His subsequent career is well known to every intelligent and reading man in the empire. From the commencement of his public life, Lord Brougham identified himself with the Whigs, and he has never swerved from the position he then took. He was removed alike from the Tories and the Radicals—the Castlereaghs and the Burdetts of the day. His withering irony and searching sarcasm were directed with tremendous energy against both, but most frequently against the former. From this medium position he has never moved ; and the consequence has been that many of his contemporaries have outstript him on some points of political doctrine.

He has never been unfaithful to his own views, has never falsified his professions, or failed to redeem his pledge. But he has not progressed like others. He has not yielded to the impulse of his times, and been carried on to conclusions more popular than the practice of the Whigs would sanction. This has been matter of deep regret to many of his Lordship's warmest admirers, who have at the same time been disgusted, beyond all the power of words to utter, at the base malevolence and ingratitude with which he has been assailed by the tory and radical press. We were never among the blind partizans of his lordship. On the contrary, we deplored, deeply deplored, the waywardness and imprudence of some of his declarations in 1834, when annoyed by what he deemed the impatience of the popular demand. But we never admitted into our hearts a doubt of his fidelity to the popular cause. We might differ from him in opinion. We might regret his opposition to the ballot, and other salutary measures, but we felt assured that, up to the point of his conviction, he was the honest, and would ever be found the strenuous and untiring advocate of good government. The public mind was staggered for a moment by the fierceness of his enemies' attacks, but it soon recovered its position, and continues its confidence in an old and faithful friend. Such is the feeling which prevails at present, and the volume before us will consequently be hailed by a large class of readers. Lord Brougham has no connexion whatever with its publication. So states the Editor, and the book itself furnishes evidence of the fact. Great care has been taken to trace out the most correct reports of his lordship's speeches, and to ascertain the genuineness of the extracts made from the *Edinburgh Review*. The contents of the volume are very miscellaneous. Some of the extracts are so brief and fragmentary, that they might, without injury, have been omitted, and their place have been occupied by others of greater value and of more permanent interest. Lord Brougham's labours in the cause of education are well known. They were commenced on the 21st of May, 1816, when he moved in the Commons' house for a Committee to inquire into the education of the lower classes in London. Several extracts from speeches on this subject are given in the present volume. The following will be read with interest from the historical information it conveys:

‘It appears that, since the peace of Amiens, and in consequence of what has taken place at the French revolution, the education of the poor classes is objected to by some persons in this country, on the ground that it would make a man a worse subject. This is, however, a modern idea. I can show, from historical documents and authorities, that the education of the poor is by no means a novel object, but has been held in early ages, and by the wisest governments, the best security for the morals, the subordination, and the peace of countries.

‘In France, in the year 1582, under the reign of Henry III., the States General met, and the noblesse of the day presented a petition to the sovereign, praying that pains and penalties might be imposed upon those who would not send their children to school; and nearly at the same time the Scotch Parliament (perhaps the most aristocratical body in existence) passed a law that every gentleman should send, at least, his eldest son to school, in order to learn grammar.

‘In the sixteenth century, an order was made that all children should attend school, and that alms and charities should be refused to those persons whose children did not so attend. I have also seen a charter of King David I., dated in 1241, in which mention was made of various public schools in Roxburgh, now a small village.

‘Another charter, dated 1163, spoke of the school of Stirling. Another in 1244, noticed the number of schools in Ayr; and a fourth, dated in 1256, made honourable mention of the praiseworthy manner in which the schools of other districts were conducted. Shortly before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1680, the most intolerant period of French history, was founded the first society in the world, and, for a long time, the only one, for the advancement of education. Its founder was the celebrated Père de la Salle, and the order was ‘Les Frères des Ignorants,’ and their vow was the foundation of schools.

‘That society had established numerous schools for the education of the poor. In 1724, which was also a most intolerant period, Pope Benedict issued his celebrated bull, authorizing and encouraging the extensive establishment of places of education for the poor. In that bull the Pope mentioned the example of the Père de la Salle, and expressed himself in the following words:—‘*Ex ignorantia omnium origine malorum, præsertim in illis qui egestate oppressi sunt, et qui elementa Christianæ religionis persæpe ignorant.*’ A more accurate, a more scientific description of ignorance, was never given, even by Voltaire, than in this instance was promulgated by the enemy of that great philosopher,—by Benedict.

‘I now turn to a different authority. From that of ‘Père de la Salle,’ and his ignorantium brotherhood, from the advice of the Pope, to whose bull I have alluded, I come to the evidence, in 1738, of the lieutenant of police, at Paris,—a man who was, perhaps, much more conversant than either with the effects of ignorance. That gentleman stated that, from the period of the establishment of the *ignorantium* schools in Paris, the expense of the police in the Faubourg St. Antoine was reduced 30,000 francs annually. This was the evidence, be it remembered, not of a theoretical, but of a practical man. About the same time a remarkable circumstance happened in this country. In 1714, Mandeville published his ‘Fable of the Bees,’ condemning the charity schools of that day, because, he said, the children learned nothing there but to lisp ‘High Church and Ormond;’ and in nine years afterwards the grand jury of the county of Middlesex thought fit to present him as a fit object for prosecution, and he was accordingly prosecuted for endeavouring to prevent the advancement of education and religious instruction, for irreligion, for decrying the

universities, and for reprobating the instruction of youth. Thus, strange as it may seem, an impious man and an atheist was at that time occupying the ground since mistakenly filled (though only for a moment) by the pious and the religious, who in our own day, worked upon by false philosophy and the evil consequences of the French Revolution, have endeavoured to discourage the progress of knowledge.

‘Mandeville charged the education of his time with instilling principles of disloyalty, and an antagonist of Mandeville’s, in a letter to Lord Carteret, replied, ‘I defy you to prove this; but enter into any of the schools, and if you at any time find disloyalty inculcated, let the schools be pulled down.’ Now this is precisely my argument. I have heard that schools have been established in Lancashire and Cheshire, inculcating unconstitutional doctrines, radical doctrines; why then my advice is, if there are such schools, let them be shut up.

‘I next come to a letter or circular of the Pope, through the Cardinal Fontana, to the Irish prelates, in 1819. In this letter is pointed out the poison which was inculcated into the minds of the people from allowing them to read unauthorized versions of the Holy Scriptures. The right reverend father said, with true philosophy, ‘It is not enough to prevent such works; in order to prevent your flock from being badly educated, you must yourselves educate them well.’ This was undoubtedly the language which, as a pious man, and as head of the church to which he belonged, he ought to use. The Pope went on to say, ‘In order to avoid the snares of the tempter, I beseech the holy brotherhood, through the love of Christ, to work day and night in the establishment of Catholic schools, in order to prevent the dissemination of improper doctrines.’ Now this is exactly my argument. Let us, in order to prevent bad impressions, inculcate those which are sound, and this is only to be done by education. I am happy to have such high authority with me on this point. The whole of this branch of the argument may be summed up in the memorable words of the great Lord Bacon, ‘*Luces enim naturam puram*,’ &c.—that the light of knowledge was in itself pure and bright, however it might be perverted and polluted by wickedness or imperfect instruction; and that the channels by which it poured in upon the human species ought to be ever kept open and undefiled.’—pp. 110—113.

His speech in defence of Ambrose Williams, who was tried at Durham in 1822, for a libel on the clergy, was one of the most powerful and effective ever delivered. His lordship is reported to have said that he never made a speech in parliament, or out of it, so completely to his own satisfaction. The circumstances of the case afforded scope for all the peculiarities of his oratory, and he availed himself fully of it. His unrivalled powers of sarcasm and irony were brought to play with appalling energy on his reverend opponents, exposing their political subserviency, and heaping upon them the contempt of every virtuous man. We well remember the impression which the speech made at the time,

and the avidity with which it was read by all classes. The following extract is a fair specimen of its concealed and biting irony :

‘ His majesty, almost at the time in which I am speaking, is about to make a progress through the northern provinces of this island, accompanied by certain of his chosen counsellors, a portion of men who enjoy unenvied, and in an equal degree, the admiration of other countries and the wonder of their own,—and there the prince will see much loyalty, great learning, some splendour, the remains of an ancient monarchy, [and of the institutions which made it flourish. But one thing he will not see. Strange as it may seem, and to many who hear me incredible, from one end of the country to the other, he will see no such thing as a bishop ; not such a thing is to be found from the Tweed to John O’Groat’s : not a mitre ; no, not so much as a minor canon, or even a rural dean,—and in all the land not one single curate,—so entirely rude and barbarous are they in Scotland,—in such outer darkness do they sit, that they support no cathedrals, maintain no pluralists, suffer no non-residence ; nay, the poor benighted creatures are even ignorant of tithes. Not a sheaf, or a lamb, or a pig, or the value of a plough-penny do the hapless mortals render from year’s end to year’s end ! Piteous is their lot !—what makes it infinitely more touching is, to witness the return of good for evil in the demeanours of this wretched race. Under all this cruel neglect of their spiritual concerns, they are, actually, the most loyal, contented, moral, and religious people any where, perhaps, to be found in the world. Let us hope that his Majesty may return safe from the dangers of his excursion into such a country ; an excursion most perilous to a certain portion of the church, should his royal mind be infected with a taste for cheap establishments, a working clergy, and a pious congregation.’—pp. 392, 393.

The following brief extract from a speech on Criminal Justice, delivered in the year 1827, exhibits the same qualities as the foregoing. We fear that the subsequent history of the Upper House has not diminished the necessity for the petition referred to.

‘ Now, it becomes me, of course, to speak of the absent with all becoming respect ; but, from what I have not only heard others say in another place, but from what I have heard said of them, I can only express my unfeigned regret, that a prayer, which I heard yesterday solemnly preferred, has not hitherto been fulfilled. I can only express my sorrow that it has not yet pleased Divine Providence ‘to endue all the nobility with grace, wisdom, and understanding.’ That a portion of the nobility is so endued, I have no manner of doubt ; but, even if I were willing to suppose that nine-tenths of them are so gifted, I cannot conceal from myself, or from the House, that the remaining portion of that illustrious body are still in a condition to require the prayers of the church.’—p. 267.

Our next extract forcibly states the inefficacy of religious tests, and is fully borne out by the testimony of history and the practice of real life. It is a singular proof of the folly of human legislation that these relics of a narrow-minded and bigotted age should be permitted to deface our statute book.

‘Religious tests! reflect for one moment how, from its very nature, a religious test must be the personification of impotence itself? How can any test keep out of any situation he aspires to any but the conscientious man? The test is pointed against the conscientious man in reality, though it professes to be contrived for his protection. Such a man will not take it, and it is only because he is an honest man that he will not. He is excluded, while the knave, who has no conscience at all, or whose conscience is seared, as it were, with an hot iron, will swallow all the tests that can be imposed, either by the statutes of the realm, or those imitative statutes which the Universities have framed.

‘The meaning of a test is, not that you should be excluded unless you believe; but that you shall be excluded unless you *say* you believe: not, ‘unless you are one of us you shall have none of our good things;’ but, ‘pretend to be one of us, and you shall have what you want.’ It is not addressed to a man’s conscience, his honest religious opinion—it is addressed to his sordid propensities, to his feeling of self-interest; it is an appeal to his pocket, not his heart; it is a security for the very vilest parts of his nature—his love of vain distinction and his love of pelf. The moment your test meets with the man to exclude whom it is devised, it becomes utterly powerless, he swallows it up whole, in the twinkling of an eye; the gates, shut for his exclusion, fly open to receive him, and he exultingly wishes the test were twice as strong: as the man, upon his preferment, wished there were sixty-nine articles instead of thirty-nine, that he might subscribe them all, at the same rate of gain.’—pp. 352, 353.

There is scarcely a topic on which the views of our public men are more confused and inaccurate than the legal constitution of the church. We have recently witnessed several exhibitions in both houses of the grossest ignorance on this point. Men who ought to know better have reasoned as though the clergy constituted the church, and formed one great corporation, having exclusive power over the ecclesiastical property of the nation. Such language may befit the position of the representative of the Oxford University, but it has sounded strange from the lips of Sir James Graham, the ex-member, we are happy to say, for Cumberland. The following brief extract sets the subject in a truer light:

‘There is a very extraordinary delusion under which many labour with respect to the question of church property. Persons are constantly speaking of the church as if it were something separate from

the rest of the community, something known to the law, some body distinctly and separately recognized by it ; as if it were a corporate or municipal body, possessed of several rights, and capable of holding several properties ! in a word, as if the church were a corporation. A greater or more mischievous error cannot exist. The church, both in contemplation of law, and in fact, is no such body. The church is not the body of the clergy—*it is the body of the faithful* ; and consists just as much of the laity as of the clergy. When you talk of church property, therefore, you do not in reality mean that there is £3,000,000 a-year derived from tithe-land and other sources belonging to the clergy, as a body separate from the state ; and yet in common parlance this is the ordinary, but most erroneous sense, in which church property is regarded.—p. 342.

Among the many changes wrought in our times, none is more singularly ludicrous or contemptible than that which the Tory party has exhibited. After waging a relentless war against human freedom in every quarter of the globe ; after confederating with despots, wherever they were to be found, for the suppression of liberty, both political and religious ; after abetting corruption, and repressing knowledge, turning a deaf ear to the voice of complaint and insulting the miseries which their own misgovernment had engendered, they have suddenly, and without warning, professed to change their views, and to have adopted a more righteous and liberal policy. Such a conversion, had it been sincere, would be matter of gratulation throughout the civilized globe. But unhappily it has taken place under circumstances which preclude the possibility of such a supposition, and which serve to exhibit, in a yet darker and more loathsome form, the unprincipled tactics of the Tory faction. The dishonesty of the artifice is powerfully exposed in the following passage, delivered in the House of Lords, in February, 1835, and having reference to the cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, then recently formed.

‘ When, I ask, did the reforming spirit come upon this government ? They are now for reform in corporations, in the law, in the church, in the state, in tithes, and in the law of marriages. They are going to make marriage a civil contract, and to abolish all banns, for the sake of the Dissenters. All these things we are to have from those who, a few months ago, would not listen to any reform ; who told us, that in proposing it we were pulling down the church about our ears ; who inveighed against us as revolutionists ; who challenged us as rebels ; who exclaimed that we had either fools’ heads on our shoulders, or traitors’ hearts in our bosoms. Since when, I repeat, has this miraculous conversion taken place ?—whence has it been derived ? My lords, I hope that my experience of men has not made me too distrustful of their good intentions, or induced me to entertain a worse opinion of the honesty of my fellow-creatures than I ought to cherish. I hope that, having lived so long in the world as I unfortunately have, I have not,

therefore, arrived at an unkindly or uncharitable estimate of their honesty. It is, however, a result not more, perhaps, of reason and experience, than of a sort of instinct which I have in me—an instinct which I believe to be a property of our common nature—that I feel an invincible mistrust of sudden, unaccountable, miraculous conversions. That men should at once from being the enemies of reform; from being the opposers of all improvement; from being the vituperators of all change; from being those who confounded reform with revolution, anarchy, disaffection, with political insanity, if not the worst political depravity; who would not touch any of the outworks of our venerable institutions of church and state; who signalled their opinions, year after year, by uninterrupted, unabated, and pertinacious hostility to all species of reform, regarding it as synonymous with destruction; whose conduct has recorded their opinion in the eyes of the world, and whose speeches have rung it in all our ears; whose protests have stigmatized reform in worse language than I have to use,—for I cannot forget the invectives against it with which they have so often loaded your lordship's journals:—that these men should, all at once, on the 14th of November, in the year of grace 1834, without any intermediate events happening, any change of public affairs; with nothing but twenty-four hours' experience added to their former stock; without any time given for reflection, except what elapsed between the opening and the reading of the letter enclosed to Sir Henry Wheatley, and brought by the servant of my noble friend; without being allowed *spatium requiemque dolori*; having no time to mourn over the destruction of our venerable institutions, to grieve over the loss of former opinions, to balance conflicting emotions, and weep over the cruel reflection that that ruin was all to be the work of their own hands:—that these men should all at once become reformers—this, my lords, does appear to me (I use not a harsh, but a very temperate expression) one of the most unaccountable phenomena in human nature which I was ever yet called on, either as a statesman, as a philosopher, or as a man of the world, to contemplate. But it is said, 'You may trust us in our conversion; this is not the first time we have changed our opinions, and sacrificed our principles, and become converts, in twenty-four hours, to the faith of our opponents.' That is, it seems, their title to trust.'—pp. 355—357.

We can only make room for one more extract, and it shall have reference to Lord Brougham's own position and views. It is well known that, on the re-formation of the Melbourne cabinet in the spring of 1835, he was excluded from office. Rumours were instantly afloat respecting the cause of this, and various reasons were alleged. His lordship's enemies attributed it to causes dishonourable to himself, but the secret was gradually elicited. His unequalled services, on behalf of the people, had rendered him an object of especial hatred to the Tory Court; and it was therefore resolved to debar him from those honours, to which he was entitled above all living men. To this fact he re-

ferred in no very equivocal terms, in a speech delivered at Liverpool, July 20, 1835, from which we make the following extract :

‘ To one charge, however, which they bring against me, I must, no doubt of it, plead guilty,—I have not found favour with the courtiers, and I am no longer in office. My political habits ; my principles ; my popular feelings ; the perpetual struggle of my life for the rights of my fellow-citizens ; the determination which guides my public conduct that the interests of the people shall be the sole rule of the government ; above all, my fixed and unalterable resolution that the Reform Bill shall bear its natural fruits, by giving this country at length a really cheap government, without which it is a useless and barren stock ;—all these things are the worst of crimes in the eyes of a court, and the result of them is, that I now meet my fellow-citizens in a private station, and absolutely independent in the performance of all my duties. Nor do I boast of having made any great sacrifice.

‘ If it were not somewhat late in the day for moralizing, I could tell of the prerogatives, not so very high,—the enjoyments, none of the sweetest,—which he loses who surrenders place, oftentimes misnamed power. To be responsible for measures which others control, perchance contrive ; to be chargeable with leaving undone things which he ought to have done, and had all the desire to do, without the power of doing ; to be compelled to trust those whom he knew to be utterly untrustworthy : and on the most momentous occasions, involving the interests of millions, implicitly to confide in quarters where common prudence forbade reposing a common confidence ; to have schemes of the wisest, the most profound policy, judged and decided on by the most ignorant and the most frivolous of human beings, and the most generous aspirations of the heart for the happiness of his species, chilled by frowns of the most selfish and sordid of his race :—these are among the unenviable prerogatives of place,—of what is falsely called power in this country : and yet I doubt if there be not others less enviable still. To be planted upon the eminence from whence he must see the baser features of human nature uncovered and deformed ; witness the attitude of climbing ambition from a point whence it is only viewed as creeping and crawling, tortuous and venomous, in its hateful path ; be forced to see the hideous sight of a naked human heart, whether throbbing in the bosom of the great vulgar, or of the little, is not a very pleasing occupation for any one who loves his fellow-creatures, and would fain esteem them ; and, trust me, that he who wields power and patronage for but a little month, shall find the many he may try to serve furiously hating him for involuntary failure—while the few whom he may succeed in helping to the object of all their wishes, shall, with a preposterous pride, (the most unamiable part of the British character,) seek to prove their independence by showing their ingratitude, if they do not try to cancel the obligation by fastening a quarrel upon him.

‘ Yet to even all this I might have reconciled myself from a desire to further great measures, and from the pleasure which excitement gives to active minds, or, if you will, from the glory which inspires

ambitious notions among statesmen, as well as conquerors. But worse to be endured than all, was the fetter and the cramp imposed on one used to independence,—the being buried while yet alive, to the people's condition and claims,—buried in the house of form and etiquette appointed for all ministers. Who, then, can marvel at the exultation which I feel to shake and to brace every fibre of my frame when, casting off these trammels—bursting through the cerements of that tomb—I start into new life, and resume my position in the van of my countrymen, struggling for their rights, and moving onwards in the accelerated progress of improvement with a boundless might, and a resistless fury, which prostrate in the dust all the puny obstacles that can be raised by the tyranny of courts and their intrigues—the persecution of bigots and their cunning—the sordid plots of greedy monopolists, whether privileged companies, or overgrown establishments, or corrupt municipalities?

‘In this proud position I am now placed; and I have no desire at all to leave it. I am once more absolutely free,—the slave of no party—at the mercy of no court intrigue—in the service of my country, and of that only master. Firm on this vantage ground, it must, indeed, be an honest government, and a strong one,—a government which promises much for the people, and is capable of accomplishing much of what it promises, that can ever tempt me to abandon my independence in the front of my countrymen, and enlist with any ministry whatever.’—pp. 386—388.

This extract, it must be confessed, presents the comforts of office in no very attractive light. It is a picture drawn by the hand of a master, accurate as an individual likeness, but failing as the representation of a class. There are few office-holders who sympathize with the lofty speculations and bright visions of such a man as Lord Brougham. They have been for the most part men of narrow views and sordid passions, who were content to deal with the follies and wickedness of others, if they might thereby retain the dignities and emoluments of place. They have consequently been exempted from the disquietudes and heart-sinking of which more generous and lofty natures are susceptible. Whether his lordship's past experience will deter him from the future acceptance of office remains to be seen. We must confess that, while we should like to see the honour proffered, we should be glad to know that it had been declined. It is due to Lord Brougham—due alike to his transcendent abilities, his political integrity, and his unmatched services—that the highest honours of the state should be within his grasp. But we should deem it a national calamity if so proud and lofty a spirit were again to be entrammelled by the cold forms and meaningless etiquette of office.

But we must reluctantly close. The volume from which we have extracted will be read and pondered over by thousands of our countrymen. It is not a book for continuous reading, but

for frequent reference. It is admirably adapted to occupy a leisure hour, and to minister a healthy stimulus to the mind. Its diversified contents appear, for the most part, under obvious disadvantages, yet they display, in combination with vast argumentative and oratorical powers, a force, comprehension, and subtlety of intellect rarely seen. We need not say, we recommend our readers to examine it for themselves.

Art. VI. *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* By HENRY HALLAM, F.R.A.S. Vol. I. 8vo. London: Murray.

THIS volume may justly be considered a phenomenon in literature. Its author represents at once the spirit of the writers of a past age and of our own. He conjoins that solid erudition, that multifarious and extensive reading which characterized the former, and which poured itself forth in folios, with that love of compactness and precision which distinguishes the latter. Modern authors rejoice in octavos and duodecimos, and strive to present the results of all science in the smallest possible compass. The spirit of literature as manifested in either class of writers, has its characteristic excellences and its characteristic faults. If the erudition of our forefathers was varied and profound, the mode of exhibiting it was often intolerably diffuse; and if on the other hand, the style of our own day is better adapted to convey instruction, the books themselves are as often intolerably superficial. If the ancient folio contained too much, the modern octavo or duodecimo as frequently contains too little. In the one case the reader is presented with the materials of thought,—with intellectual *viands*,—though in a rude way; in the other we are reminded of some of those coldly elegant entertainments where nothing is forgotten but the—*meat*, and we are in danger of starving, amidst silver forks and damask table-cloths. If the one class of books are stuffed with misapplied learning and pedantic quotations, or wander into endless digressions on all sorts of subjects, the other as often contain nothing more than a meagre abridgment, a hasty and scanty compilation of what has been said by others, without any of that charm of *manner*, that vivacity, that vigorous thought which is sure to distinguish all that is *original*, however rude. This volume combines all the excellences of both classes of works, and what is still more wonderful, cannot be charged with the faults of either. It displays immense and most multifarious knowledge, yet expressed in the most compact and compressed form. It is the concentrated essence of folios packed

into a moderate octavo. As we pass from page to page, and see the most massive and weighty subjects rapidly yet judiciously disposed of, we are reminded of the wonders of modern railroad travelling, where immense weights are conveyed with the utmost velocity of movement; where the bulky contents of the old broad-wheeled waggons are shot through space with more than the rapidity of mail coaches, and huge bales of goods and trains of numberless carriages are whirled along at the rate of twenty miles an hour.

Mr. Hallam may also be said to represent the spirit of the authors of two different nations; we mean those of Germany and those of his own country. He is eminently distinguished by that unwearied spirit of research which characterizes the former, but is at the same time as eminently distinguished by that far more *practical* spirit which is found in the latter. He possesses a complete command of his bulky materials, and selects and distributes them to the best advantage.

That the task of tracing the history of European literature should have been reserved for Mr. Hallam, (although we think it a very happy circumstance,) does not in the slightest degree surprise us. It may at first sight indeed excite wonder, that no previous author should have aspired to treat, in one great systematic work, so tempting, so magnificent a subject; yet, when we think of the rare qualifications which must centre in that individual who can attempt it with any chance of success, and the term of study, the long and unwearied preparation, which it requires for an adequate performance of the task, we are rather astonished that *any one* should be found fit to undertake it, than that no more should; or that any man, *being qualified*, should voluntarily subject himself to the Herculean labour it involves, than that such ambition should animate only him. In order to write a thoroughly good book on such a subject, the author must possess, in the first place, an intimate knowledge of at least *eight* languages, namely, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and of course Latin and Greek. Without the two last, the bulk of the literature of the mediæval period cannot be understood at all.—Secondly, in addition to a knowledge of the above-mentioned modern languages, as they are *now spoken*, he must possess a knowledge of their rude and early dialects, without which he will be totally unable to give an account of the process of their formation, or of the ancient works composed in them.—Thirdly, he must have read the principal productions in each of the above-named languages, in the wide realms of fiction and polite literature, and at least such a portion of those on all the several branches of science and philosophy, as shall qualify him for pronouncing on their literary merits, giving an intelligible account of their general contents, and tracing the progress of discovery

and improvement. To this must be added a *business-like* perusal of an immensity of historical, biographical, historico-literary and critical matter, containing accounts of the literary character and works of individual authors, or tracing the progress of literature within certain eras, or amongst particular nations. Let us only reflect for a moment what all this implies! The study of numberless authors in the most diverse languages on the most diverse subjects; poets, romance-writers, novelists, historians, metaphysicians, theologians, and the perusal of such a portion of the writings of authors in all departments of physical, ethical, and legal science, as shall qualify the historian to give a distinct account of the respective merits of each, and to trace the progress of the age. This alone must require very many years of diligent preparation—a long and most laborious accumulation of materials; but this is not all, nor even the principal part; for there are many men who possess sufficient powers of acquisition and sufficient industry, to fulfil *these* conditions as well as they *could* be fulfilled by any poor creature whose years are but threescore and ten. Other and more rare qualifications are still behind.—Fourthly then, he must possess a truly philosophical mind, if he would give any thing like a just account of the causes which have tended to advance or check the progress of literature in any particular country or at any one period; if he would trace the influence of politics and religion, on literature, or of literature on religion and politics; the influence which national manners and the outward forms of society have exercised upon literature, or which it again has exercised on them; or lastly, the reciprocal influence of the different branches of literature on one another. He must have a discriminating judgment and a highly cultivated taste, in order to appreciate the beauties, and determine the relative merits of the authors on whom he sits in judgment. He must be deeply imbued with a spirit of just and profound criticism, that he may give a rational account of the principles of different schools, and different styles of literature; pronounce on diversities of national taste, and determine how far these last are reconcileable with those immutable principles of our nature which lie at the basis of all literary excellence; the exhibition of which national manners and peculiarities may modify, but can never wholly violate, at least without rendering the productions which thus violate them a tissue of extravagance, ridiculous at once to the mass of mankind, and in the end to the very people in which such a false taste, like some absurd fashion, has for a time predominated.—Fifthly, he must possess eminent candour and impartiality; that he may rise above national prejudices himself, and do justice to modes of thought and styles of literature to which his own country, or his own age is a stranger. He must be entirely free from that love of paradox to which literary critics are so often addicted;

men, who find their supreme delight in taking down the idols of the world's admiration from their pedestals, and putting up others in their place; who are animated by an iconoclastic zeal which goes about defacing monuments and breaking images, depreciating great fame and elevating obscure merit; finding out that there is not much beauty in a universally admired work, and that purely because every body persists in admiring it, and prodigious merit in another, merely because no one has ever seen it but the critic himself. Lastly, he must possess a sound judgment in the selection, arrangement, and disposition of his own most multifarious materials, and at least such a command of language and of style as shall enable him to exhibit them with some degree of eloquence. This is absolutely necessary, if he would hope to attract and interest the reader on such a theme.

We only state our sincere conviction when we say that Mr. Hallam unites these various qualifications in as great a degree as could be expected in any man, and in far greater measure than can be found in any one of his contemporaries. Of many of these qualifications his former works sufficiently show that he was possessed. They evince his indefatigable research, his extensive erudition, his sound judgment, his impartiality and candour, in every page. But it will astonish some readers to find that, while Mr. Hallam was pursuing those studies which were necessary for exhibiting the political, social, and civil state of Europe during the Middle Ages, or for tracing the constitutional history of our own country, he was paying attention at the same time to polite literature, and that in his present volume he shows himself almost as much at home in poetry and the *Belles Lettres*, in discussing the merits of different schools of taste, in examining the works of great poets, in canvassing matters of diction and of metre, as (in his other works) the principles of politics and legislation, or the progress of wars and negotiations. He is apparently as much at his ease in discussing the constituents of the chivalrous and romantic spirit of the Middle Ages, as he would be in tracing the history of the Reformation; or in criticising the merits of Boiardo and Ariosto as the characters of Henry VIII. and of Cromwell.

We do not know that we ever saw a work, certainly we never saw any *historical* work, which contained so much matter,—matter so various, and spread over so extensive a field,—in so *readable* a form. We say *readable*, because we are well aware that it would be possible to cram a much larger amount of information into a volume of the same size, if our author had pursued the same plan as some historians, or rather some mere *annalists*; but to insert so much in a *readable* form; that is, while touching each topic with that rapidity which was essentially necessary in order to comprehend it in any way, to present it in such a

definite form as to make an adequate impression on the memory and imagination; to interfuse amongst such a wilderness of dry names and dates so much of the spirit of philosophy and criticism as to render the narrative not only intelligible, but interesting; to overspread such a multitude of facts with so much discussion on the causes which produced or modified them, and to connect them with the general history of the periods or nations to which they are referred; to enter within so short a compass into such minute details, and yet render these details so attractive;—is what we never saw accomplished in so eminent a degree as in the volume before us.

It may justly excite surprise that, admitting almost a miraculous combination of natural and acquired qualities to be necessary, to qualify a man for such an undertaking as this—the task has not been attempted by combining upon it the talent and erudition of different individuals. In fact, however, this has been attempted in Germany, where, especially of late years, historico-literary investigation in every department of science, learning, and art, has become exceedingly common. The Germans have always been fonder of this species of investigation than ourselves; indeed, in England, to our shame be it spoken, we not only have no history of European literature in general, but not even of our own literature, nay, not even a complete history of any one of its departments. The Germans have various writers on the literature of their own country, the most valuable of whom, in our opinion, is Menzel, whose work we do not perceive as yet quoted by Mr. Hallam, but which we shall doubtless see referred to in his subsequent volumes; since it can hardly have escaped his comprehensive research. The greatest work of a *general* historico-literary nature ever projected was originated in Germany on the plan above mentioned; that of combining upon it the collective genius and learning of a considerable number of authors. It was divided into eleven different departments, any one of which was considered sufficient for one man. Bonterwek was intrusted with poetry and polite literature; Buhle with speculative philosophy; Kästner with mathematics; Sprengel with anatomy and surgery; Heeren with classical literature; while to Eichhorn was committed the revision and superintendence of the whole. This vast work was never fully executed; nor was it perhaps projected on the very best principle. In such a work, considering the cognate and closely related nature of many of the subjects, and the unity of character, of purpose, of execution, which it is so desirable to keep up throughout, different writers should merely be employed to collect materials, the selection, arrangement, and distribution of which, should be committed to one master-mind; a mind at once of great powers and multifarious erudition. But though the work was not completed, 'we owe to it,' says Hallam, 'several

‘standard works to which I have been considerably indebted.’ Bonterwek’s history of Spanish poetry has been translated into English.

For the general history of the literature of particular countries, almost as little has been done as for the history of European literature in general, with the exception of Germany, and of Italy, which last can boast in the work of Tiraboschi, the most complete and comprehensive account of every department of national literature. There is nothing of the kind in France; ‘it has no work,’ says Hallam, ‘on the universal history of her own literature, nor can we claim for ourselves a single attempt of the most superficial kind. Warton’s history of poetry contains much that bears on our general learning, but it leaves us about the accession of Elizabeth.’

Particular departments of science or learning have fared better. There is the History of Philosophy by Brucker, to begin with. The great work of Tenneman on the same subject. Victor Cousin’s Abridgment of the same work. Buhle’s History of Philosophy from the revival of letters. Bonterwek’s History of Poetry and Eloquence, in eleven volumes octavo; and Montucla’s and Kästner’s Works on Mathematics; not to mention others. Not one of them, however, was written by an Englishman. Mr. Hallam’s work will wipe away this reproach, and we may confidently expect to see it translated into many of the languages of Europe.

Of the multifarious contents of this closely printed volume, it would be impossible of course to furnish, in a short review, any thing like an adequate analysis, as the separate parts of the work are so closely connected together: and as the detail of particular facts is so intimately complicated with the exposition of the great principles on which their evolution depends, it is equally difficult to select any short passages which can give an adequate impression of the merits of the work. We shall, however, do the best we can; and after laying before the reader a brief statement of the *principal contents* of each chapter, select a few extracts on such topics as are least connected with minute details, and are likely to prove generally interesting from their relation, not to this or that particular department of science or art, or to this or that class of writers, but to the great evolutions of literature in general.

The volume is divided into nine chapters. Mr. Hallam only proposes to treat of the history of literature in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. But in order that he might do this thoroughly, it was necessary to enter somewhat at length into the state of learning in Europe in the Middle Ages. The first chapter, therefore, is devoted to the examination of this subject, and is wholly introductory. It is entitled, ‘On the General State of Literature in the Middle Ages, to the End of the

'Fourteenth Century.' In this chapter, the remarks which have most interested us, and which we apprehend will most interest the reader, are those—on the prejudices of the ecclesiastics against literature, and on their usefulness in preserving it; on the schools of Charlemagne; on the general character of the tenth century, which Mr. Hallam contends was more progressive than is generally supposed; on the want of original genius, the prevalence of bad taste, and the deficiency of poetical talent, which distinguished the dark ages; on the degree in which this depended on the imperfection of language (our author's remarks on this subject, strike us as eminently just and beautiful); on the formation of the modern European languages; on the origin of modern metres and of rhyme; and on the invention of paper.

The second chapter carries on the history from 1400 to 1440. It commences with an account of the revival of classical literature, one great instrument of awakening Europe from barbarism and ignorance, and which, at all events, had more to do with the formation of *taste* than any other ten causes put together. This chapter also contains some most interesting remarks on the causes of the enthusiasm for antiquity in Italy; on the physical sciences of the Middle Ages; on the character of Roger Bacon, and his resemblance to his more illustrious namesake; on the Encyclopædic works of the Middle Ages; on the metres of Spanish poetry; on the state of English poetry during this period; on the constituents of chivalry; on the early attacks on the church.

The third chapter is on the Literature of Europe from 1440 to the close of the Fifteenth Century. In this, the remarks which have most pleased us are those on the progress of the study of classical literature; on the invention of printing; on its progress in Germany; on Lorenzo de Medici; on the Italian poetry and prose of the fifteenth century; on the state of literature in England, containing some most judicious remarks on the Paston letters, as affording some evidence as to the degree of information possessed by the wealthy in private life; on the revival of the Platonic philosophy, by Lorenzo and his friends; the splendid description of his villa at Fiesole; on the Schoolmen, especially on the controversy between the Nominalists and Realists; on the European Drama, and its origin as connected with 'religious mysteries,' as they were called; on the early literary history of Erasmus; on the number of books printed during this period; on the history of bookselling as a trade; on the price of books and their forms; on the effects of printing on the Reformation.

The fourth book is confined to a survey of the next twenty years only; that is, from 1500 to 1520. The most interesting parts are these: on the press and Academy of Aldus; on the study of the oriental languages; on the Greek scholars in

England; on the Utopia of Moore; on the Adages of Erasmus; on the origin of the Reformation; on the character of Luther; on the Orlando Furioso,—a beautiful piece of criticism.

The fifth chapter gives us the history of *ancient* literature in Europe from 1520 to 1550. The principal topics are the superiority of taste in Italy as connected with an ardent admiration of antiquity; the influence of Erasmus; the Greek Grammar, and the Lexicons of this period; the Latin Thesaurus of Stephens; the effects of the Reformation on classical learning; the history and characters of Smith, Cheke, and Ascham.—At the close of this chapter our author contends with great truth, in opposition to Warton and many other writers, that the destruction of monasteries was no injury to *learning*.

The sixth chapter gives us the history of *theological* learning during the same period. It contains a brief account of the progress of the Reformation; of the differences between Luther and Zwingle; of the conduct of Erasmus, and of his controversy with Luther; of Calvin and his institutes; of the progress of the differences amongst the Reformers; of the Jesuits; of the council of Trent and its chief difficulties; of the character of Luther, (to which we shall return by-and-by); of the spirit of the Reformation, and 'of the passions instrumental to it.' These latter topics are treated in a fine philosophical spirit, and with the author's accustomed candour; indeed, we are sometimes inclined to think that he has exercised rather *too much* candour towards the Romanists.

The seventh chapter contains the history of speculative, moral, and political philosophy, and of jurisprudence, during the same period. The most interesting portions of this chapter are on the gradual decline of the scholastic philosophy; on the fortunes of Aristotle's philosophy; on the imposture and extravagances of Paracelsus; on the ethical writings of Erasmus and Melancthon; but especially the long and admirable, but perhaps on the whole, somewhat too favourable criticism on Machiavel.

The eighth chapter contains the history of the literature of taste during the same period. We cannot specify particular topics of interest; to the student of polite literature, the whole is deeply interesting. The last chapter of the volume is on the scientific and miscellaneous literature of the same period. Though most valuable to the man of science, it is to the general reader the least attractive in the book.

Mr. Hallam may now congratulate himself on having completed the most difficult, or at least, most irksome part of his task; for though the stream of literature which is to bear him onward will widen as he proceeds, the chief difficulties of the navigation are surmounted. He will not have much more to read, in barbarous, or at the best (with the exception of a few splendid in-

stances) impure Latin, nor much in obsolete dialects, or half-formed languages. It will be plain sailing, though the voyage will be long. We shall rejoice to hear that his last volume is in the printer's hands, and that he can exclaim, in those triumphant words of the followers of Æneas, with which Montesquieu closes his great work, '*Italiam ! Italiam !*'

We must now proceed to give our readers a few extracts; premising, however, that, as they are selected principally because they are capable of being easily isolated, they by no means serve to convey an adequate idea of the merits of the work. We shall present our readers with three passages, giving an account of three of the principal events connected with the progress of literature;—the invention of paper, the history of bookselling, and the publication of books in octavo and duodecimos. To this we should add, the account of the invention of *printing*, but we suppose the history of that great discovery is well known to our readers.

The following is an account of the invention of paper :

'The date of the invention of our present paper, manufactured from linen rags, or of its introduction into Europe, has long been the subject of controversy. That paper made from cotton was in use sooner, is admitted on all sides. Some charters written upon that kind not later than the tenth century were seen by Montfaucon; and it is even said to be found in papal bulls of the ninth. The Greeks, however, from whom the west of Europe is conceived to have borrowed this sort of paper, did not much employ it in manuscript books, according to Montfaucon, till the twelfth century, from which time it came into frequent use among them. Muratori had seen no writing upon this material older than 1100, though in deference to Montfaucon, he admits its employment earlier. It certainly was not greatly used in Italy before the thirteenth century. Among the Saracens of Spain, on the other hand, as well as those of the East, it was of much greater antiquity. The Greeks called it *Charta Damascena*, having been manufactured or sold in the city of Damascus. And Casiri, in his catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Escorial, desires us to understand that they are written on paper of cotton or linen, but generally the latter, unless the contrary be expressed. Many in this catalogue were written before the thirteenth, or even the twelfth century.

'This will lead us to the more disputed question as to the antiquity of linen paper. The earliest distinct instance I have found, and which I believe has hitherto been overlooked, is an Arabic version of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, the manuscript bearing the date of 1100. This Casiri observes to be on linen paper, not as in itself remarkable, but as accounting for its injury by wet. It does not appear whether it were written in Spain, or, like many in that catalogue, brought from Egypt or the East.

'The authority of Casiri must confirm beyond doubt a passage in Peter, Abbot of Clugni, which has perplexed those who place the in-

vention of linen paper very low. In a treatise against the Jews, he speaks of books, *ex pellibus arietum, hircorum, vel vitulorum, sive ex biblis vel juncis Orientalium paludum, aut ex rasuris veterum pannorum, seu ex aliâ quâlibet forte viliore materia compactos.* A late English writer contends that nothing can be meant by the last words, 'unless that all sorts of inferior substances capable of being so applied, among them, perhaps, hemp and the remains of cordage, were used at this period in the manufacture of paper.' It certainly at least seems reasonable to interpret the words '*ex rasuris veterum pannorum,*' of linen rags; and when I add that Peter Cluniacensis passed a considerable time in Spain about 1141, there can remain, it seems, no rational doubt, that the Saracens of the Peninsula were acquainted with that species of paper, though perhaps it was as yet unknown in every other country.

Andrès asserts, on the authority of the Memoirs of the Academy of Barcelona, that a treaty between the kings of Arragon and Castile, bearing the date 1178, and written upon linen paper, is extant in the archives of that city. He alleges several other instances in the next page; when Mabillon, who denies that paper of linen was then used in charters, which indeed, no one is likely to maintain, mentions, as the earliest specimen he had seen in France, a letter of Joinville to St. Louis, which must be older than 1270. Andrès refers the invention to the Saracens of Spain, using the fine flax of Valencia and Murcia; and conjectures that it was brought into use among the Spaniards themselves by Alfonso of Castile.

In the opinion of the English writer, to whom we have above referred, paper, from a very early period, was manufactured of mixed materials, which have sometimes been erroneously taken for pure cotton. We have in the Tower of London a letter addressed to Henry III. by Raymond, son of Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, and consequently between 1216 and 1222, when the latter died, upon very strong paper, and certainly made, in Mr. Ottley's judgment, of mixed materials; while in several of the time of Edward I., written upon genuine cotton paper of no great thickness, the fibres of cotton present themselves every where at the backs of the letters so distinctly that they seem as if they might even now be spun into thread.

Notwithstanding this last statement, which I must confirm by my own observation, and of which no one can doubt who has looked at the letters themselves, several writers of high authority, such as Tiraboschi and Savigny, persist not only in fixing the invention of linen paper very low even after the middle of the fourteenth century, but in maintaining that it is undistinguishable from that made of cotton, except by the eye of a manufacturer. Were this indeed true, it would be sufficient for the purpose we have here in view, which is not to trace the origin of a particular discovery, but the employment of a useful vehicle of writing. If it be true that cotton paper was fabricated in Italy of so good a texture that it cannot be discerned from linen, it must be considered as of equal utility. It is not the case with the letters on cotton paper in our English repositories, most, if not all, of which were written in France or Spain.

'Sir Henry Ellis has said that, 'few, very few instances indeed occur before the fifteenth century, of letters written upon paper. The use of cotton paper was by no means general, or even, I believe, frequent, except in Spain and Italy, perhaps also in the South of France. Nor was it much employed even in Italy for books. Savigny tells us there are few manuscripts of law books among the multitude that exist, which are not written on parchment.'—pp. 74—79.

We next give an account of the history of bookselling :

'We shall conclude this portion of literary history with a few illustrations of what a German writer calls 'the exterior being of books,' for which I do not find an equivalent in English idiom. The trade of bookselling seems to have been established at Paris and at Bologna in the twelfth century ; the lawyers and Universities called it into life. It is very improbable that it existed in what we properly call the dark ages. Peter of Blois mentions a book which he had bought of a public dealer (a quodam publico mangone librorum). But we do not find, I believe, many distinct accounts of them till the next age. These dealers were denominated Stationarii, perhaps from the open stalls at which they carried on their business, though statio is a general word for a shop, in low Latin. They appear, by the old statutes of the University of Paris, and by those of Bologna, to have sold books upon commission ; and are sometimes, though not uniformly, distinguished from the Librarii ; a word which, having originally been confined to the copyists of books, was afterwards applied to those who traded in them. They sold parchment and other materials of writing, which with us, though, as far as I know, nowhere else, have retained the name of stationery, and naturally exercised the kindred occupations of binding and decorating. They probably employed transcribers : we find at least that there was a profession of copyists in the Universities and in large cities ; and by means of these, before the invention of printing, the necessary books of grammar, law, and theology, were multiplied to a great extent for the use of students ; but with much incorrectness, and far more expense than afterwards. That invention put a sudden stop to their honest occupation. But whatever hatred they might feel towards the new art, it was in vain to oppose its reception : no party could be raised in the public against so manifest and unalloyed a benefit ; and the copyists, grown by habit fond of books, frequently employed themselves in the somewhat kindred labour of pressmen.

'The first printers were always booksellers, and sold their own impressions. These occupations were not divided till the early part of the sixteenth century. But the risks of sale, at a time when learning was by no means general, combined with the great cost of production, paper and other materials being very dear, rendered this a hazardous trade. We have a curious petition of Sweynheim and Pannartz to Sixtus IV., in 1472, wherein they complain of their poverty, brought on by printing so many works, which they had not been able to sell. They state the number of impressions of each edition. Of the clas-

sical authors they had generally printed 275 ; of Virgil and the philosophical works of Cicero, twice that number. In theological publications the usual number of copies had also been 550. The whole number of copies printed was 12,475. It is possible that experience made other printers more discreet in their estimation of the public demand. Notwithstanding the casualties of three centuries, it seems, from the great scarcity of these early editions which has long existed, that the original circulation must have been much below the number of copies printed, as indeed the complaint of Sweynheim and Pannartz shows.

‘The price of books was diminished by four-fifths after the invention of printing. Chevillier gives some instances of a fall of books in this proportion. But not content with such a reduction, the university of Paris proceeded to establish a tariff, according to which every edition was to be sold, and seems to have set the prices very low. This was by virtue of the prerogatives they exerted, as we shall soon find, over the book trade of the capital. The priced catalogues of Colinaeus and Robert Stephens are extant, relating, of course, to a later period than the present ; but we shall not return to the subject. The Greek Testament of Colinaeus was sold for twelve sous, the Latin for six. The folio Latin Bible, printed by Robert Stephens in 1532, might be had for one hundred sous, a copy of the Pandeets for forty sous, a Virgil for two sous and six deniers, a Greek Grammar of Clenardus for two sous, Demosthenes and Æschines, I know not what edition, for five sous. It would of course be necessary, before we can make any use of these prices, to compare them with that of corn. * * *

‘Nothing could be less unreasonable,’ adds Mr. Hallam, ‘than that the printer should have a better chance of indemnifying himself and the author, if in those days the author, as probably he did, hoped for some lucrative return after his exhausting drudgery, by means of an exclusive privilege. The senate of Venice granted an exclusive privilege, for five years, to John of Spire, in 1469, for the first book printed in the city, his edition of Cicero’s Epistles. But I am not aware that this extended to any other work. And this seems to have escaped the learned Beckmann, who says, that the earliest instance of protected copyright on record appears to be in favour of a book insignificant enough, a Missal for the Church of Bamberg, printed in 1490. It is probable that other privileges of an older date have not been found. In 1491 one occurs at the end of a book printed at Venice, and five more at the same place within the century ; the Aristotle of Aldus being one of the books : one also is found at Milan. These privileges are always recited at the end of the volume. They are, however, very rare in comparison with the number of books published, and seem not accorded by preference to the most important editions.’ Such was the origin of copyright—a topic which is at this period of no little interest—at least to us.

In these exclusive privileges the printer was forced to call in the magistrate for his own benefit. But there was often a different sort of interference by the civil power with the press. The destruction of books, and the prohibition of their sale, had not been unknown to antiquity; instances of it occur in the free republics of Athens and Rome; but it was naturally more frequent under suspicious despotisms, especially when to the jealousy of the state was superadded that of the church, and novelty, even in speculation, became a crime. Ignorance came on with the fall of the empire, and it was unnecessary to guard against the abuse of an act which very few possessed at all. With the first revival of letters in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sprang up the reviving shoots of heretical freedom; but with Berenger and Abelard came also the jealousy of the church, and the usual exertion of the right of the strongest. Abelard was censured by the council of Soissons in 1121, for suffering copies of his book to be taken without the approbation of his superiors, and the delinquent volumes were given to the flames. It does not appear, however, that any regulation on this subject had been made. But, when the sale of books became the occupation of a class of traders, it was deemed necessary to place them under restraint. Those of Paris and Bologna, the cities, doubtless, where the greatest business of this kind was carried on, came altogether into the power of the universities. It is proved by various statutes of the university of Paris, originating, no doubt, in some authority conferred by the crown, and bearing date from the year 1275 to 1403, that booksellers were appointed by the university, and considered as its officers, probably matriculated by entry on her roll; that they took an oath, renewable at her pleasure, to observe her statutes and regulations; that they were admitted upon security, and testimonials to their moral conduct; that no one could sell books in Paris without his permission; and that they could expose no book to sale without communication with the university, and without its approbation; that the university fixed the prices, according to the tariff of four sworn booksellers, at which books should be sold, or lent to the scholars; that a fine might be imposed for incorrect copies; that the sellers were bound to fix up in their shops a priced catalogue of their books, besides other regulations of less importance. Books deemed by the university unfit for perusal were sometimes burned by its order. Chevillier gives several prices for lending books (*pro exemplari concessu scholaribus*), fixed about 1303. The books mentioned are all of divinity, philosophy, or canon law; on an average, the charge for about twenty pages was a sou. The university of Toulouse exercised the same authority; and Albert III., Archduke of Austria, founding the university of Vienna about 1384, copied the statutes of Paris in this control over bookselling as well as in other respects. The stationarii of Bologna were also bound by oath, and gave sureties to fulfil their duties towards the university; one of these was, to keep by them copies of books, to the number of one hundred and seventeen, for the hire of which a price was fixed. By degrees, however, a class of booksellers grew up at Paris, who took no oath to the university, and were consequently not admitted to its privileges, being usually poor

scholars, who were tolerated in selling books of low price. These were of no importance, till the privileged, or sworn traders, having been reduced, by a royal ordinance of 1488, to twenty-four, this lower class silently increased: at length the practice of taking an oath to the university fell into disuse.' pp. 339—347.

The last shall be the following lively account of the first publication of books in a more convenient size than the unmanageable and expensive folio:

'Aldus himself left Venice in 1506, his effects in the territory having been plundered, and did not open his press again till 1512, when he entered into partnership with his father-in-law, Andrew Asola. He had been actively employed during the first years of the century. He published Sophocles, Herodotus, and Thucydides in 1502; Euripides and Herodian in 1503; Demosthenes in 1504. These were important accessions to Greek learning, though so much remained behind. A circumstance may be here mentioned, which had so much influence in facilitating the acquisition of knowledge, that it renders the year 1501 a sort of epoch in literary history. He that year not only introduced a new Italic character, called Aldine, more easily read, perhaps, than his Roman letters; which are sometimes rude; but, what was of more importance, begun to print in a small octavo or duodecimo form, instead of the cumbrous and expensive folios that had been principally in use. Whatever the great of ages past might seem to lose by this indignity, was more than compensated in the diffused love and admiration of their writings. 'With what pleasure,' says M. Renouard, 'must the studious man, the lover of letters, have beheld these benevolent octavos, these Virgils and Horaces contained in one little volume, which he might carry in his pocket, while travelling, or in a walk; which besides cost him hardly more than two of our francs, so that he could get a dozen of them for the price of one of those folios that had hitherto been the sole furniture of his library. The appearance of these correct and well-printed octavos ought to be as much remarked as the substitution of printed books for manuscripts itself.' We have seen above, that not only quartos, nearly as portable, perhaps, as octavos, but the latter form, also, had been coming into use towards the close of the fifteenth century, though I believe it was sparingly employed for classical authors.

'It was about 1500 that Aldus drew together a few scholars into a literary association, called Aldi Neacademia. Not only amicable discussions, but the choice of books to be printed, of manuscripts and various readings, occupied their time, so that they may be considered as literary partners of the noble-minded printer. This academy was dispersed by the retirement of Aldus from Venice, and never met again.' pp. 352—354.

But we must not quit the volume without saying a few words on the topic to which we intimated above our intention to return—the character of Luther. We cannot think that Mr. Hallam has quite done the great reformer justice, and that on two points. We

think he has hardly interpreted with that candour which usually distinguishes him, certain obnoxious expressions in Luther's writings, with respect to Christian liberty, and the doctrine of justification by faith alone; and that he has scarcely done justice to Luther's extraordinary intellectual endowments. To deal with these in order.

Speaking of Luther, he says :

'In maintaining salvation to depend on faith as a single condition, he not only denied the importance, in a religious sense, of a virtuous life, but asserted that every one, who felt within himself a full assurance that his sins were remitted (which, according to Luther, is the proper meaning of Christian faith), became incapable of sinning at all, or at least of forfeiting the favour of God, so long, but so long only, as that assurance should continue. Such expressions are sometimes said, by Seckendorf and Mosheim, to have been thrown out hastily, and without precision; but I fear it will be found, on examination, that they are very definite and clear, the want of precision and perspicuity being rather in those which are alleged as inconsistent with them, and as more consonant to the general doctrine of the Christian church.' p. 416.

He at the same time says, 'it must not be supposed for a moment that Luther, whose soul was penetrated with a fervent piety, and whose integrity and purity of life is unquestioned, could mean to give any encouragement to a licentious disregard of moral virtue, which he valued as in itself lovely before God as well as men, though in the technical style of his theology he might deny its proper obligation.' He afterwards says, that he is unwilling to give his pages too theological a caste, or he could easily prove his statement by extracts from Luther's *early writings*, 'which display Luther's Antinomian paradoxes in a strong light.' Now upon this we observe, first, that we are far enough from denying that, in his *early writings*, Luther often did express himself on this subject with lamentable want of prudence and caution; nor, considering the extent to which the great doctrine of justification by faith had been obscured, was this, perhaps, much to be wondered at; but then we cannot agree with Mr. Hallam in thinking that these passages are to be interpreted alone, merely because they are apparently so 'definite and clear,' but from the whole of his writings; if there are others, as there are incontestably many, which at the least seem to be inconsistent with these absolute statements, the former must be interpreted as qualified and modified by the latter. This is the only rational plan; it is this we adopt in interpreting the sacred writers, some of whom indeed, if 'a few clear and definite' expressions were taken alone, apart from a full examination of the whole book in which they occur, might be

charged with holding the same opinions with which Luther is here charged. If, on the other hand, the two series of statements be utterly incapable of being harmonized, then Luther must be given up as apparently holding contradictory opinions. But even then we have no right to charge him with holding one set of sentiments in their most naked and undisguised form, while there are others which show that they did not hold an invariable influence, or that they were to be modified in some way or other. Mr. Hallam says, 'in treating of an author so full of 'unlimited propositions as Luther, no positive proof as to his 'tenets can be refuted by the production of inconsistent passages.' This does appear to us, from a person of Mr. Hallam's perspicacity, somewhat extraordinary; since the 'positive proof,' to which he refers, is derived from the *writings* of Luther, as well as 'the inconsistent passages,' which seem at variance with them, and the one is as much to be taken into consideration as the other. Now, as we have already said, if it be impossible to harmonize the two series of statements, we must give up the author as inconsistent; but even then, as the evidence is conflicting, we have no right to take the first series, and say, 'These, literally interpreted, and absolutely unqualified by any apparent counter-statements, must be considered as *alone* positive proof of what Luther's sentiments were.—But is there any such absolute contradiction? is there no possibility of harmonizing the two sets of passages? We apprehend there is. We apprehend that Luther, when he affirmed (often, we admit, in language exceedingly injudicious and unguarded) that salvation was by faith in the merits of Christ alone, meant no more than would be affirmed by thousands in the present day, who cannot for a moment be suspected of denying 'the importance, in a religious sense, of a virtuous life;' that is, who would affirm that the merits of Christ are the sole efficacious cause of man's salvation; and who, while they contend for the necessity of a holy life, would deny that it was for *that* that man was admitted into heaven; in other words, who, while contending for the necessity of a holy life, would put that necessity on entirely *different* grounds. They would affirm that good works were the only intelligible and infallible sign of the existence of faith, or of the influence of the Divine Spirit on the heart: that they were the necessary and inevitable consequences of the reception of the gospel, of gratitude and love for the benefits it brings, and of all those lofty motives which it inspires; that personal holiness was the essence of that character it is intended to form and cherish, and which is the ultimate design of the whole economy; in a word, they would contend that man certainly would not go to heaven *for* his good works, although he certainly could not go to heaven *without* them. Now, if Luther held such

a theory as this, or one approximating to it, it is plain that no statements, however 'clear and definite,' that salvation was by faith alone, would prove that 'he denied the importance, in a religious sense, of a holy life,' for they in reality would not be at war with it. That Luther held some such theory as this, however imprudently he often expressed himself, we think is plain from the many 'inconsistent passages' to which Mr. Hallam refers, and which in charity should be interpreted so as to qualify his more rash statements. Those rash statements should not, by the utter rejection of such passages, be exaggerated into 'Antinomian paradoxes.' We have also Melancthon's explicit testimony, that *in substance* Luther agreed with himself, at a time when no one could charge the former with holding such paradoxes. The passage cited by Mr. Hallam, in a subsequent part of his work, is as follows: 'Scis me quædam minus horridè dicere de prædestinatione, de assensu voluntatis, de necessitate obedientiæ nostræ, de peccato mortali. De his omnibus scio re ipsa Lutherum sentire eadem, sed ineruditi ejus φορτικωτερα dicta cum non videant quo pertineant, nimium amant.'

We may also remark that there are numberless passages in Luther's later writings, especially his letters, as recently collected and edited in five large volumes by De Wette, which conclusively show that Luther did not hold 'a virtuous life, in a religious sense,' unimportant, and which are as clear and definite as any which could be adduced to the contrary. But we must now say a word or two on the second point.

Mr. Hallam says of Luther 'that his amazing influence on the 'revolutions of his own age, and on the opinions of mankind, 'seems to have produced, as is not unnatural, an exaggerated 'notion of his *intellectual* greatness.' He then, after admitting that 'he writes his own language with force and purity,' and that 'his hymns possess a simple dignity and devoutness perhaps 'never before excelled in that sort of poetry,' goes on to state that 'his works, so far as his acquaintance with them extends, are 'not distinguished by much strength and acuteness, and still less 'by any impressive eloquence.' Now if, by *intellectual* greatness, Mr. Hallam means that Luther's writings do not place him in the very first rank merely in a literary point of view, we should not find much difficulty in agreeing with him. But then it is to be recollected that *intellectual* greatness may exhibit itself in other forms; that it is, in fact, of various kinds. In some of them we believe that Luther was as great as mere mortal ever was. But 'every man in his own order.' His genius, we believe, was far more *practical* than speculative; and, as far as his writings are concerned, showed itself in his wondrous powers of persuasion, in the unrivalled energy with which he could address the popular

mind, in that skill with which he could select, and the strength and vividness of expression with which he could urge home upon the understandings of the people, just those arguments and topics, and only those which were likely to avail with them. For lofty and comprehensive speculation, for calm and subtle argumentation, we do not think he was well fitted. In a word, his genius was strictly oratorical, and in this respect strongly resembled that of Demosthenes. Now Demosthenes, for any thing we can tell, might have made but a sorry philosopher; yet no one denies, *in his own department*, his preeminent greatness. Thus ought we to judge of Luther; he who almost created the German language; who wrote it with a force, purity, and raciness never known before, and seldom rivalled since; he who translated the Bible in such strong and sinewy language (Luther's *kraftvolle und kornige Sprache*, as an eminent modern German has phrased it) that it still holds undisputed sway over the minds of his countrymen; he who could maintain such an influence over the popular mind, and address it with such power, energy, and pathos, must have been, in his own department, a man pre-eminently great. We do not know that his genius appears anywhere more conspicuously than in many of his familiar German letters. We do not see that De Wette's collection is referred to by Mr. Hallam; but, if he has not seen it, we cannot but think that its perusal would somewhat modify his opinion of Luther's genius. In oratorical power we do not believe there ever was his equal, except Demosthenes.

But we must have done. There are one or two other points on which we should like to have expressed our opinions, but they are of no very great importance, and our space is already exhausted. We cannot conclude, however, without once more expressing the high gratification we have derived from this volume, and heartily recommending it to the attention of our readers.

Art. VII. *Researches Antediluvian, Patriarchal, and Historical, concerning the way in which Men first acquired their Knowledge of God and Religion, and as to what were the doctrines of Adam and Noah; with an Account of the long night of Idolatry which followed, and darkened the Earth, and also of the Means Designed by God for the Recovery and Extension of His Truths, and of their Final Accomplishment by Jesus Christ.* By THOMAS CLARKSON, M.A., Author of 'the History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade,' &c. &c. London: Longman and Co. 8vo.

WE know not why we should hesitate to confess that we took up this volume with some considerable anxiety. The revered character of its philanthropic author almost seemed to preclude the possibility of criticism, while the importance of the topics treated, imperiously required that faithful judgment should be pronounced. Our anxiety, however, soon gave way to emotions of pleasure, as from page to page, and from section to section, we found him prosecuting his examination of the sacred records with the same simplicity of design, manliness of understanding, and obvious love of truth, which so eminently marked his benevolent career in the earlier and more vigorous periods of life.

There is perhaps as little intermixture as possible of verbal criticism, since, with few exceptions, our author has adhered to the commonly received version of the Scriptures, and has, we think, exhibited proofs of very considerable power, that the Antediluvians possessed the substance of the moral law, afterwards more circumstantially and impressively uttered at Sinai.

On the important subject of the Divine Origin of Sacrifice, there has not perhaps been sufficient prominence usually given to an argument deduced from the very nature of the rite itself, and which Mr. Clarkson has thus briefly but impressively stated:

'But this answer leads to another question. By whose authority did Cain and Abel institute this rite? Did they invent it themselves? Certainly not. But why? Because the doctrine of appeasing God by the blood of animal victims could never have been the spontaneous product of the human mind. It never could have entered into the mind of Adam, or of Abel, or of Cain, that the taking away of the life of one of the animals of their flocks and offering it to God, could appease his wrath when offended on account of sin.'—p. 64.

In connexion, however, with the offerings of Cain and Abel, our author's plan of adhering so much to our version, has prevented him from clearing away the difficulty which ever seems to attach to our reading of Genesis iv. 7. Not to dwell on what we think must appear the violence of the figure—sin lieth at the door—we are inclined to suppose every reader will

admit that the intention of the whole passage was to console the mind of Cain,—at least, to lower down the irritation manifested on his not being accepted; but surely to tell a sinner that when he did not do well sin lay at his door, or would be imputed to him, could have no such effect: hence we have always preferred Archbishop Magee's rendering, 'And the Lord said unto Cain, wherefore art thou wroth. Is there not, if thou doest well, exaltation; and if thou doest not well, a sin offering lying at thy door? And thus he' (i. e. Abel thy younger brother) 'may become subject to thee, and thou mayest have the dominion over him.' This translation, in addition to removing the difficulty mentioned above, tends to bring out still more clearly the important truth that blood only could be accepted as a sin-offering; and the version is, we apprehend in strict accordance with the use and meaning of the Hebrew words.

Perhaps no part of Mr. Clarkson's work is of higher merit, or will better repay the reader, than his remarks on the Book of Job. We have been interested, not only by the proofs brought out of the knowledge which Job possessed of essential truths, but by the mode adopted of establishing the antiquity of this part of the sacred writings, which, if it be not entirely conclusive, is certainly distinguished by considerable ingenuity, and attended with high probability.

In the second part of the volume, which relates to the views entertained of the Saviour by different nations prior to, and at the time of the Advent, there is less of originality than in the former. Mr. Clarkson, with his habitual ingenuousness, refers frequently to Horsley in this portion of his work, and the reader will at once remember to have seen in the writings of that learned prelate the substance of much that is stated.

Without pledging ourselves to all the statements made, in this volume we can, with much pleasure and confidence, recommend it to our readers generally, and especially to those whose studies are more strictly Biblical. It contains much valuable information, and is rich in germs of thought which may be unfolded and expanded in varied luxuriance.

We can scarcely persuade ourselves to close this short notice without expressing an earnest desire that the venerable author of this book may find consolation under the painful trial recently experienced, from that sacred volume, to the study of which he has given so much of his time and attention. May the visions of the future so attract his gaze, as to prevent his reflecting too bitterly on the past.

Art. VIII. *The Curate of Steinholt. A Tale of Iceland.* Two Vols. 12mo. London: Longman & Co. 1837.

THE history and present condition of Iceland present many topics of deep interest to the intelligent observer. Situated at the very confines of the habitable world, it refutes many theories which have been popular amongst us, and illustrates the compensatory arrangement by which a beneficent Providence secures the general diffusion of happiness. Iceland was peopled in the ninth century by some Norwegian emigrants, who preferred liberty abroad to slavery at home. Their political institutions bespoke the liberality of their views, and provided for the equitable and mild administration of justice. 'The existence and constitution of the Icelandic republic,' says Dr. Henderson, who possessed ample opportunities of forming a judgment, 'exhibit an interesting phenomenon in the history of man. We here behold a number of free and independent settlers, many of whom had been accustomed to rule in their native country, establishing a government on principles of the most perfect liberty, and with the most consummate skill, enacting laws which were admirably adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the nation.*' The constitution thus established was maintained for nearly 400 years, when the Icelanders suffered some abridgment of their liberties by becoming tributary to Norway. They were subsequently, in 1387, transferred to Denmark, but continued to observe their ancient institutions.

The first settlers in Iceland were pagans, and their conversion to Christianity did not take place till about 140 years after their emigration. They early adopted the principles of the Reformation, and now constitute one of the most moral and best informed communities on the globe. While Europe was wrapped in the darkness of the middle ages, the poets, historians, and legislators of Iceland were employed in cultivating the intellect, and in providing for the welfare of her people. Amidst the eternal snows and burning volcanoes of their frozen region, the supremacy of intellect was established, while in milder and more luxuriant climates man was enthralled by sloth, and sunk into sensual indolence. At the present day the inhabitants of this dreary region appear to be far in advance of every other European community in general education. This may appear singular, but it is nevertheless true; and it gives an interest to the character of the people which no adventitious circumstance could supply. In the work from which we

* Journal of a Residence, &c. Introd.

have already quoted, Dr. Henderson tells us, 'It is exceedingly rare to meet with a boy or girl, who has attained the age of nine or ten years, that cannot read and write with ease. Domestic education is most rigidly attended to; and it is no uncommon thing to hear youths repeat passages from the Greek and Latin authors, who have never been farther than a few miles from the place where they were born; nor do I scarcely ever recollect entering a hut where I did not find some individual or another capable of entering into a conversation with me, on topics which would be reckoned altogether above the understandings of people in the same rank of society in other countries of Europe.'

Such a people, so advanced in civilization amidst circumstances so unpropitious and dreary, constitute a *study* for the philosopher and statesman. Any thing which throws light upon their character; which familiarizes us with their daily and hourly avocations; which teaches us what they are, and how they think, and feel, and act, cannot but be received with thankfulness, and be examined with deep interest by every well-ordered mind.

Such is the purpose which the volumes before us are adapted to answer. They accord strictly with their title, and will be found to introduce the reader to the daily intercourse and the fire-side acquaintance of the inhabitants of a frozen world. The tale is simple, both in its plot and style. The characters introduced are exhibited in their usual costume, and made to express themselves in language most natural and becoming. There is nothing forced or exaggerated in the part they act. They walk and talk, they scheme and love as human beings placed in their circumstances would naturally do. There is consequently a calmness in the emotions excited—healthful as well as pleasant—and strikingly contrasted to the turbulent and exhausting feelings usually awakened by the harrowing incidents of the modern romance. The general sentiments of the work are indeed so chaste and christian-like; the principal actors in the drama are so obviously imbued with the spirit of our holy faith, and so honestly concerned for the practice of its duties, that its influence is at once mild and salutary, insinuating the lessons of wisdom, and strengthening the resolves of virtue.

As a vivid and natural description of Icelandic scenery and manners we strongly recommend the 'Curate of Steinholt' to our readers. The pure sentiments, chaste diction, and graphic descriptions of life, by which it is distinguished, will render it a general favourite wherever it is introduced.

Art. IX. *Classes and Parties—Results of the Elections—Prospects of the Country.*

WE are not going to trouble our readers, as we at first intended, with the perplexities of a parliamentary calculus, since the returns are in every newspaper; assertions are made with about equal confidence on all sides; and an approaching session of the two Houses will soon change fears into facts, or hopes into realizations. Our object is now of another kind. It is to analyze our present circumstances as a nation, rather than merely ascertain how many of the new members will support Lord Melbourne, or how many will oppose him: and in aiming at the point before us, we will do our utmost to use the words of truth and soberness. The crisis is so pregnant with importance, that to allow passion, or even strong feeling, to sway the balance of judgment, would be, in our humble opinion, as foolish as it is criminal. Not that we mean to be mealy-mouthed, or to mince matters; but there never, perhaps, was a time when loud pretension seemed less valuable, or calmness of mind more essential, in conducting a political investigation.

We must look back a few years upon, and even beyond, the reign which has just closed: for it is gravely asserted in the last number of the Quarterly Review, that the consequence of what the Grey and Melbourne administrations performed, has been a *dormant anarchy*. The latter days of William the Fourth were, indeed, stirring times; but it so happened, that when Providence called him to the throne of these realms, anarchy was *awake* in the land! Now in our apprehension, if a tiger be in the jungle at all, we had rather have him dormant than vigilant; and those that could lay him asleep we should consider benefactors, after they had done so. But what was the actual matter of fact, when the King dared not dine with the lord Mayor in his own city of London? Discontent had broken out beyond all bounds; the funds were falling; our farm-yards were in flames; and seventeen counties exhibited themselves in a state bordering on insurrection. The evil had been smouldering under its embers for half a generation. Since the congress of Vienna, after the battle of Waterloo, there was little joyous recurrence to those brilliant illuminations and carousals, which threatened two and twenty years ago to obliterate every sober thought about debts and difficulties. When the stern reality, with hunger and ruin in its rear, had extinguished the anticipated satisfaction of enjoying peace and plenty, so bitter was the disappointment, that riot and desperation could be scarcely restrained from becoming rampant. We may well remember how gazette after gazette displayed its long list of bankruptcies; how the gains of the farmers faded; how the wheel

of industry went round heavily ; until labour almost folded its arms in sulky dismay, or was ready to exchange the plough and the reaping-hook, for the bludgeon or the blunderbuss. Then markets got glutted, prices declined, retailers broke, capitalists barely snatched their fortunes from shipwreck, or perhaps perished in the attempt. Every face grew pale, and every heart sad, as one channel of commerce after another only cheated and mortified expectation. In one word, the curse of warfare was working its avengeful way. A system of loans and taxes had exhausted our commonwealth of its life-blood. Habits of public and private extravagance had wrought their poison into our vitals. We forgot our victories in our sorrows. Nor was this the whole state of the case ; for beside the troubles on the surface of society, there was a process preparing beneath, which escaped the eyes of the superficial. There was an inward conviction deeply seated, and gradually gathering strength, that our governors were going on in a wrong direction. Like a struggling earthquake, it made the nation sometimes tremble to its centre, although millions in alarm could merely guess why and wherefore it should so happen. External circumstances, comparatively trifling often in themselves, would catch an affinity with what was passing within, and augment the electric shock into a mysterious and tremendous warning. Statesmen, so called by courtesy, started in their dreams, or at their shadows in noon-day. They demanded and obtained oppressive powers from an un-reformed parliament. The hidden sensations of uneasiness, however, still vibrated from the palace to the cottage. The sovereign added cruelty to his voluptuousness. The people clamoured more loudly than they had ever done before. Our middle classes felt aggrieved and whispered. Nobles feared much for the crown, and more for their own coronets, rich pastures, and envied immunities. Clergymen *then* preached loyalty and obedience. The Tories held fast and faster to their power and pensions, as the earth threatened to crumble from under them : whilst in the mean time, some degree of education being diffused, knowledge of course extended in proportion, and occasionally such a groan was given, or the mailed hand of public opinion was so raised and clenched, that even before the French revolution of 1830, wise men amongst us predicted an approaching change.

It arrived after the decease of the last of the Georges, and the occurrence of the three celebrated days at Paris. Napoleon's assertion proved correct, that a revolution in France is a revolution necessarily beyond her own boundaries. England, Ireland, and Scotland, convulsed themselves with joy. In the hour when the Bourbons ceased to reign from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, in that self-same hour, was drawn from the urn of destiny the doom of Toryism, throughout Great Britain and her dependencies. The Duke of Wellington retreated from office. Earl Grey succeeded

to the helm amidst acclamations not easily to be forgotten. He assumed it under pledges of peace, retrenchment, and reform; which have been redeemed so far as the foreign and domestic entanglements bequeathed him by his predecessors, and his own inherently aristocratic prejudices, would allow. At least the *then active anarchy*, from whose roar the greatest captain of the age had fled, was lulled into profound slumber. The fire-brand of the incendiary went out in the breeze of reform; and we undertake to say, that nothing will rekindle its glare, or awaken the monster that wields it, so readily, as a return of the conservatives to their high places. Let the Quarterly Reviewer, and those who agree with him, ponder these things in their heart. Assertions are not arguments; but our youthful contemporaries are old enough, and have memories good enough, to decide whether the picture just now drawn be a true or false one. The reign of William the Fourth was altogether a transitional period; and therefore full of fluctuations. We deem his capacity and information to have been slight, but his intentions royal and sound. He meant, and endeavoured to act the part of a paternal monarch: but neither his previous pursuits, his court, his family, his age, could be otherwise than unequal to the herculean labour of raising nations in the mass, from a low level, to one far higher. He will be numbered amongst the emancipators rather than the enslavers of mankind; whilst it may be hoped, from the circumstances of his death-bed, that he was brought as a humbled sinner to prostrate himself before the King of kings, and seek through the cross of Jesus for a celestial, unfading diadem.

His successor has ascended the throne with every patriotic heart throbbing in her favour. That her predilections are liberal need not be questioned for a moment, if we call to mind her voluntary nominations in the household, and the confidence reposed in lord Melbourne and his colleagues. It is not true, that she was of necessity bound to retain the present ministers in office. Where were the servants of Anne, at the accession of George the First? Did not the Whigs make a clean sweep of Jacobites and their retainers? And just admitting, for argument's sake, conservative statements to be correct, that the existing cabinet is the worst ever concocted, could not the pure patriotic Tories, with his immaculate Majesty of Hanover at their head, have delivered the land of such a nuisance, had but their sovereign lady been of their opinion? Surely, both as to appetite and capabilities, there were cormorants to be found in sufficient abundance, within less than a hundred miles of Windsor, snuffing the carrion from afar? Had the Queen, or her mother, vouchsafed even a symptom of assent, neither pen nor pencil could have described the readiness with which they would have bolted the most indigestible precedents, and proudly pounced upon the prey!

“ Jam subitæ horrifico lapsu de montibus adsint
Harpyiæ, et magnis quatiant clangoribus alas,
Diripiantque dapes, contactuque omnia fœdant
Immundo: tum vox tetrum dira inter odorem !”

It may be assumed, then, that the young wearer of the British crown (and long may she wear it!) entertains sentiments in unison with those of her present advisers. Her truest wisdom will be, like Solomon of old, to seek for ‘an understanding heart to judge her people, that she may discern between good and bad.’ The millions, over whom she is to rule, have already tendered her in name, and the majority in reality, their warmest affections. She has only to make herself mistress of their wants and wishes; to study their welfare in the mass, without favouritism or preference as to persons or parties, to render them at once both prosperous and happy. In this way she will eclipse the glories of Elizabeth, and the mistress of Marlborough; without the accursed tyranny of the former, or the sanguinary trophies of the latter. In order, however, to do so, she must rely upon her people, and her parliaments. Whatever may be the result of the recent elections, let us imagine her, with some political Mentor at her side, throwing a glance, from her elevated station, over the various classes of her subjects.

Nearest below her may be pointed out the aristocracy, with one exception, the proudest, wealthiest, and most powerful in the world. From the banishment of the Stuarts, they have contrived to infuse their spirit and manners throughout the army and navy, the church, and even the entire nation. In appearance, they have been just sufficiently connected with their fellow-countrymen, to mask the undeniable truth, that their interests are distinct from those of the public at large. Interwoven by ten thousand ties, with every species of property and association in the realm, their own monopoly of rank and privilege has been until lately never questioned. Most certain it is, that for more than a century, they have dictated to the crown, and domineered over the people. Dissolutions of parliament were so many farces, which threw dust into the eyes of spectators, whilst dishonest conjurers carried on the imposture. The battles of the state have been fought by their lordships, of the House of Peers, upon the chess-board of the House of Commons. Every borough was a pawn in the game; mitres and coronets adorned the bishops and castles; knights of the shire protected the pockets of country gentlemen; the Queen consort could intrigue and take in all imaginable directions; the Monarch was the object of check-mate; and the plunder of an overflowing treasury rewarded successful players. At length, in our own happier days, the system has been brought as nearly to a close, as the half-restored vision of the middle-classes would permit. Yet much—very much remains to be done; nor have the

oligarchy either forgotten or forgiven the events of 1832. Their language is more civil, whilst their intentions can never really change. They will hide themselves in any costume, to secure an unreasonable portion in the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth; but the voice will be Jacob's voice, and the hands the hands of Esau. In what way can selfishness, supported by might and mammon, be brought into the paths of honesty and uprightness? After the maturest deliberation, we conceive that the country is not as yet prepared to sanction extensive modifications in a certain branch of our legislature; until its yoke has been made tenfold heavier, and the whips of chastisement have been acuminated into the scorpions of Rehoboam. Bad as this may seem to many sanguine minds, there is light springing up out of darkness. Wiser sages may arise than the wholesale slanderer of the Irish. The magnitude of what they have to lose, in a struggle, may remind them to count the cost, before buckling on their armour. At all events, the palace will no longer be to them a temple of Delphi, with priests on the back-stairs deluding them with lying oracles. When their vocation carries them thither, they will find the atmosphere clear, salubrious, and bracing. The regal prerogative of creation may be largely exercised, so as to coerce them into good behaviour. Glimmerings of understanding will surprise them on certain subjects; and they will be happy to fall into the companionship of those among their fellows, who have grown into men of valour, whilst they have been dancing in their leading-strings, or at least lingering in the nursery.

Nearly allied with the aristocracy, in sentiments and sympathy, are the clergy of the Established Church. Towards that religious communion, contemplated in its legitimate, or rather its appropriate position, as distinct and separate from the state, we are far enough from entertaining a vestige of hostility. But the fact cannot be impugned, that having embraced the world, the world has in return polluted her sanctuaries. Hence episcopacy has swollen into prelacy. Instead of continuing a holy sister, mingling with others in ministrations around the cross of her Saviour, she has painted her face, and attired her head, and lifted up her eyes on high. Hence has her fine gold grown dim; and the purity of her raiment is defiled. A lordly hierarchy, and bigoted universities, have not nurtured her Levites in vain. The latter are losing sight of the love of that Master, whom they profess to serve, and are kissing the mouth of Baal. Even 'the precious sons of Zion' have merged themselves in the clamour and the crowd. We look round, and listen in vain, for the evangelical successors of the Scotts, and Newtons, and Leigh Richmonds, who would have died, rather than stood aloof from their brethren in Christ, on the ground of being branded as dissenters. Alas! we hear no voice amidst the waves of strife; and see no hand reached out in friendliness,

towards the thousands of nonconforming pastors, ranged in one array with themselves, upon the Rock of everlasting ages. Throughout the elections, they have canvassed and voted, with occasional exceptions, for candidates often destitute of character, provided they were only pledged to oppose the Queen's government in its respect for the rights of conscience. That faults have been committed on every side, we freely admit; whilst in common justice, we claim what cannot without unfairness be withheld. When a recent movement was to have been made at Bristol against the present iniquitous system of church rates, not a single dissenting minister, in that populous city, would allow notices of the public meeting at the Guildhall, to be given out from his pulpit; and this from the most conscientious and scrupulous considerations. On the other hand, when petitions were to be got up, perhaps by the mandate of an archdeacon, against the new measure of lord Melbourne, parchments were lying, on the Sabbath, at the vestry and church-doors, in each parish, for Conservative worshippers to subscribe as they entered; and, in more instances than one, the sermon contained exhortations on the subject, charging upon nonconformity in general, premeditated designs of overturning the Church of England! Why have the flags, unfurled over so many belfries, been permitted to proclaim, that even consecrated steeples and towers are nothing more than the pillars of partizanship? We are entitled to ask our countrymen, and the religious portion of them in particular, on which side have the potsherds striven with the potsherds? Have pious dissenters, or pious episcopalians, manifested the greatest taste and delicacy, as to political forays, or exhibitions before the hustings? And to proceed one step further;—is it not notorious, that in several discourses pronounced over the velvet cushions of the Establishment, there have been hints thrown out as to the Sovereign herself, implying that, should a peculiar line of conduct be adopted towards her Roman Catholic subjects, Protestants may entertain the idea of something like a transfer of their allegiance? We hesitate not to affirm, that an impression has got abroad respecting the clergy as a body, involving their character for scriptural loyalty; and that it is their duty, as members of society, as well as Christian instructors, to lose no time in removing these suspicions, both by word and deed. With our own ears, we have known some among them omit supplications in the liturgy for the Queen, *as our governor!* And though such trifles may be nothing more than willing mistakes, just at present, let them hasten to mend either their grammar or their manners; unless they mean to loosen altogether their hold upon the affections of their congregations, and accelerate, as well as aggravate, that tempest of public opinion, which will lay their prejudices in the dust.

Next, perhaps, in importance may be pointed out the gentry ; an anomalous tribe, identified with the ancient squirearchy of the country, and alluded to, we suspect, by lord Brougham, when he said that all, or most persons possessing £500 per annum, were at heart conservatives. The fact, we fear, is so with regard to those who number above forty summers. Under this age, our firm conviction is, that the talent and education of the times may be deemed decidedly favourable to constitutional liberalism ; always allowing, indeed, for drones and dunces, at Oxford and Cambridge. The loaves and fishes of these monastic establishments are too plenteous, to permit even learning to enlarge exclusiveness, or banish celibacy. Elsewhere, however, middling fortunes place their owners in more propitious circumstances and associations. Persons of taste, with independent incomes, feel disposed to see something of the world, and think for themselves. Should they embark in commerce, monopolies, and every thing connected with them, soon come in for a full share of detestation : or if they prefer the bar, that grade of the legal profession, amongst its juniors at all events, leans to popular rather than aristocratic opinions. It must be remembered too, that the elders are rapidly dying out ; whilst accretions are continually being made, from the youth, and strength, and enthusiasm of the community. As an order, therefore, our gentry grow wiser every day they live. The scales break off in all directions ; and borne onwards by the middle classes, they would find it impossible to retrograde, even if so inclined. There is, moreover, an increasing love of religion, leavening and purifying them from the low habits of the last generation. Theatres in cities, and field-sports in the country, seem at a discount. More books are written, and read, than their grandfathers ever dreamed of ; and the platforms of our public meetings, as well as innumerable reading-societies, and committees, bear testimony to the vast improvement which has so happily occurred in this quarter.

We wish as much could be said for the farmers, who still remain a sort of *pagani* in politics ; that is, villagers or rustics, as to general knowledge ; when nearly every other section of society presses forward in the race. They correspond surprisingly to the ancient hinds and clowns, the old *adscripti glebæ*, bending over the soil they cultivate ; which, under the misnomer of the agricultural interest, (a juggle practised upon them by their landlords), they almost worship as their venerable mother. The famous fifty-pound clause, introduced into the Reform Bill by lord Chandos, has completed their degradation. Speaking of them in the gross, it has rendered them serfs to the great landed proprietors. We know it is said with much truth and poetry, that the light of morning is first caught by the loftiest mountains ; but it is some-

times forgotten, that there are vallies of such profundity, as to be rarely enlivened with a ray, so as that they may emerge from the perpetuity of gloominess. Our farmers remain walled in, overshadowed, and sunk, in the depths of antiquated ideas. Witches and warlocks still frighten their dairy-maids; and grain is often winnowed by fairies, or made mouldy by Puck and Goodfellow. Bogles squint from ten thousand barn-doors, after dark; or wander through glens and glades: nor does the nailed horse-shoe disappear from the stable, as it ought, in the nineteenth century. Beyond their 'talk about oxen,' our graziers seem resolved to have no reflections. Isolated and ignorant, they cling to the corn laws, as though these had been enacted for their sole especial benefit; and the wisdom of Solon would be thrown away in setting the real fraud before them, or the bearings of its stupendous iniquity. Whatever weight they have, will fall ponderous on the side, and at the bidding, of their bitterest oppressors. The tithe system, which was fast setting them against the clergy, is on the point of being so modified, as to harass the mere cultivator no longer. With all friendly respect for the best interests of our fine yeomanry, they are not valuable friends, at least in their present state of mind, either to themselves, or their country.

The SHOPOCRACY, as the retailers have been sometimes termed, are a good deal wiser in their generation; although they might be much wiser still. They have all the mental advantages offered in large or smaller towns, of mingling and blending together. The interchange of sentiments, and even the collision of interests, contributes powerfully to awaken the faculties. The mind no sooner gets aroused, than it becomes intensely desirous of profiting by all, or any means of education, within reach. Periodicals, without end, are procured and perused. Sunday-schools and prayer-meetings, with attendance more or less regular upon sermons and lectures, purify the heart, and refine the intellect. The main body of our middle-classes, (under Providence the sheet-anchors of the country,) must be the shop-keepers. If their myriads would but keep in memory the force of united numbers; if they would but so extend their views, as to see that what is good for all must ultimately be beneficial to each; if they would but brave the frown of rich and overbearing customers; they would find *the many* always rallying round them; willing to be edified by their example, and to support them on needful occasions. Knowing, however, what human nature is, it is for this most respectable class, that the ballot is essential. Their liberties are literally bound up in it. A conscientious tradesman, with his wife and children, had better be without the electoral suffrage, than not be able to exercise it at discretion. It is a solemn trust, which he has to administer, before his Maker and his fellow men. But what is to be done, when interest beckons one way, and con-

science another? An applicant for his vote is at the counter, with a large order, either to be executed or discharged; whilst the goodwoman and her little ones are weeping in the back-parlour. Who can wonder at pale looks and aching hearts? That candidate, who in the opinion of the honest grocer or linen-draper, ought to be returned, he must oppose, or support with ruin staring him in the face. Were the retailers of England to determine on the correct course, they would one and all place their franchises in abeyance, until such protection was afforded, as might enable them to act out their principles, with the impunity to which they are so justly entitled.

The Operative-Electors appear next in the political panorama: and if the ballot be necessary for persons in comparatively comfortable circumstances, how ten times more needful is it for the grade below them! They form the substratum of the middle classes; and a noble foundation they would be, were they in a fair position. But they not only want the shelter of secret and therefore safe voting;—they also want education, or at least practical knowledge. The penny magazines are miserably deficient on some points. There is not a peasant in the Prussian dominions who would remain satisfied, with the superficial information, thus doled out to our ingenious and hard-working artizans. No pains have ever been taken, upon system, to furnish them with any thing beyond the most crude and incorrect notions, as to the duties of governors and subjects; as to our principles of taxation; or as to the philosophy and economy of industry. We are far from wishing to see them prating and discontented politicians; yet with the outlines of political science they should surely be made acquainted; nor is there a class of persons in the three kingdoms, who would acquire what ought to be learned, upon such matters, more quickly; or use the power thus imparted, with greater meekness and modesty, as well as regard to the general welfare. Such we affirm would be the case, provided no treasonable or irreligious impulses were permitted to prepossess and bias them. Yet this is precisely what will occur, unless national education, *upon a religious basis, without any sectarian partialities*, become one of the very first objects of our rulers. The tree of knowledge must be planted in the land, with the river of the water of life springing up beneath it. Our operative electors will then be in the way of discerning their truest interests, and feeling the weight of their responsibilities. They may then be brought to understand that what their representatives are to them, they are to the non-electors; namely, trustees responsible both to God and their country. In an evil hour it was that the unpopular branch of our legislature thought to win popularity by an affected regard for the rights of the old freemen. The consequence has been, that a cancer, which might have been extracted with perfect safety, has been allowed

to remain untouched, and spread contagion through every healthy member in its neighbourhood. The Tories were well aware that, in retaining the ancient burgesses, without any qualification of proprietorship or occupancy, they were preserving within their reach an enormous portion of the constituencies, ready to be purchased by the best bidder, upon all occasions. Hence the disease has infected thousands and thousands among the new voters; so ubiquitous has been the gold of conservatism; so tempting the influence of example; so universally outstretched the palm of poverty itching for the accursed bribe! Perhaps it may be observed that our ten-pound householders cannot be designated *poor*, in the strict sense of that term: but, during the recent elections, such has been the depressed state of trade, that up and down some of the most honourable boroughs in the realm, penury is knocking at doors, where plenty, in happier seasons, was wont to be a smiling guest. An immense change must succeed to the existing order of things, before political virtue can breathe freely throughout the operative classes among the electors.

But what is the state of the Non-Electors—the unrepresented multitude—the basement of the whole social pyramid? Destitute of the franchise, they avow their claims, and point to their growing numbers. These are rather upwards of four millions; calculating the male adult portion of our united population at one-fifth of twenty-five millions; and deducting from it the eight hundred thousand invested with the right of suffrage. We are no friends to the mad schemes of a certain notorious baronet, the late member for Westminster; yet we should be heartily glad if our wisest legislators would pay due attention to the present state of the non-electors. Are these informed that proprietary qualification is necessary? they look round upon the multitudes of freemen, so called, the legacy of rotten boroughs, and still more rotten corporations, which enfranchised precisely those persons, who, as pauper burgesses, could never maintain their independence. An able artizan, earning his thirty shillings per week, and residing in a respectable dwelling for which he pays nine guineas and a half (£9 19s. 6d.) annual rent, with character and talents so unquestioned, that the neighbouring chapel is proud to enrol him amongst its deacons, has nevertheless no voice for the weal or woe of his country; whilst another man clothed in rags, reeling from the beer-house or the gin-shop, may touch the ark of the constitution, and get twenty pounds from a candidate! How can such a state of things be satisfactory; and, without going further into the subject, it does appear to us that the plan of lord Durham, as to household suffrage, accompanied of course by the ballot, would go far towards allaying this enormous anomaly, in a manner at once safe and constitutional. There are symptoms of discontent, at which no reflecting mind can wonder, and which should lead to

full and fair investigation. The heart of our country we believe thoroughly sound; yet, from the pressure of external circumstances, increased competition in commerce and manufactures, the rapid diffusion of incomplete and unsound opinions, as to physical force and the rights of labour, it becomes imperative upon us to do something. Our social framework is getting daily more and more artificial. Its internal machinery involves the fortunes of thousands, where formerly only hundreds were concerned. The greater its complexity, the more occasion there is for incessant vigilance and fearless reform, whenever and wherever a necessity for it is demonstrated. The non-electors must be dealt with fairly. The abolition of the corn laws, a revision of our fiscal system, so as that its burdens should no longer press like an incubus upon the energies of industry, and a due regard to the rights of conscience, would all be healing processes, tending to convince the unrepresented classes that their interests were not forgotten; and they would then wait, we think, without impatience, for those concessions of political privileges to themselves, which an increasing portion of their numbers ought, in strict justice, even now to enjoy.

And so much with regard to an imaginary survey of our countrymen, as existing in classes; let us now glance at them under another aspect, as gathered and divided into three great parties, styled by common consent—the Conservatives—the Ministerialists—and the Radicals.

The first are neither more nor less than the old Tories under a new denomination; the same enemies to all good government that they always were; only, as lord John Russell observed the other day at Stroud, having selected the title of conservatives, as *an alias*, to cover them from former deeds, and former professions, of which honesty has long since been ashamed. These gentlemen, then, are wolves in sheep's clothing; and the name, by which they call themselves, is the homage which hypocrisy pays to virtue. For this reason, and for this alone, the liberals allow them to bear it: since the whole world knows that its actual meaning is like *lucus a non lucendo*! It appears to us, after the most careful consideration, that their strength is greater than before in the constituencies, and less in the country at large. Secret associations, the foulest bribery, and tremendous intimidation, have produced the former result; truth and sober argument are bringing about the latter. Amidst the excitements of an universal struggle, the electors, (not one-sixth, be it remembered, of the male adult population) have been below a certain grade in society, stupefied with ale, misled by professions, purchased by gifts, and driven to the polling-booths like animals without souls. On which side, we would fearlessly inquire, have been, in nine instances out of ten, the popular voice, and the non-electing masses? What is

the evidence furnished by Liverpool, Norwich, Hull, Bridgwater, and similar boroughs? It is not too much to affirm, that unlawful and criminal practices have, during the recent fermentation, outheroed Herod, and exceeded all previous instances, both in atrocity and extent. This will be soon demonstrated before committees in parliament. But meanwhile the agitation will subside into a calm, upon which we shall see reflected, as in a sea of glass, the real merits of the case. Then must be visible the full force of facts. Those who have bribed, and menaced, and forsworn themselves, and roared their throats hoarse, with professions not more absurd than they were contradictory at the time of making them, will stand out in their inherent deformity. They have ever been the foes of all reform, though now avowing themselves to be the friends of it! They supported needless wars, enormous taxes, profligate expenditure, restrictive edicts—though now declaring themselves opposed to every evil of the kind! They and theirs held the reins of government for seventy years, without originating a single measure, with the welfare of the people for its characteristic; while, for the last seven, they have obstructed, with unparalleled acrimony, that party in the state which alone pleaded the cause of freedom, when such phantoms as lord Castlereagh were in power. And lo! these are the men grasping once more for what they have lost—the capabilities of perpetrating mischief! The honest thinkers of Great Britain will settle the question by their firesides in the long winter evenings. It requires no prodigious talents to do it. It will be within the compass of those who can count five upon their fingers, as well as those who can measure the heavens. Will the conservatives render justice to Ireland? Have they been tender of the rights of dissenters? Were they not the progenitors of three-fourths of the national debt? Did they not uphold every rotten borough in the kingdom? Were not the green mounds of Gatton and Old Sarum precious in their sight? Were their voices heard in favour of or against Municipal Reform? Whence, then, their sudden patriotism—their wonderful conversion—their overflowings of anxiety on behalf of the poor—their incontinent affection for liberty—their unlooked for and egregious virtue? The novel trumpet, moreover, of self-applause, which they are ever and anon sounding, happens to prove too much for their own purposes; and we well know that *Qui probat nimis, probat nihil!* Their words, when listened to, must be construed backwards. They, as conservatives, proclaim themselves the only real Reformers! Was Earl Grey then only an avatar of Sir Robert Peel? They affirm the peers to be neither more nor less than the true tribunes of the people! How came it to pass, then, that this curious political vocabulary—this simple horn-book and Royal Primer of the Carlton Club, never got into fashionable repute, until after

those, whom the tories so bitterly abuse, had won the Magna Charta of the nineteenth century? We fear that in the new House the *conservative* phalanx will comprise from three hundred to three hundred and fifteen members.

But now for the Ministerialists. These are made up of multifarious materials very unequal in value. The nucleus, however, of their party is for the most part sound, having borne the test of many a trial during the last twenty or thirty years. Some venerable prejudices no doubt still cleave to them; the results of aristocratic habits, and that incurable malaria overhanging the Pomptine marshes of Downing Street. Much must and will be forgiven them by the generous and sober-minded. Omitting the peculiarity of their past position in the palace, the components of their majority, in the late parliament, were any thing but those of the threefold cord, which is not soon broken. Integrity of purpose there was; but blended with both timidity and selfishness. Several members had turned with the times, and held their principles as Anthony Fire-the-Faggot, in Kenilworth, did his religious creed—an easy glove to be pulled off and put on according to occasions. The cabinet itself was not quite free from political cameleons endowed with marvellous facilities for adopting whatever colour they are thrown upon. The set-off against them has been a rising school of disinterested and high-minded men, like the eldest son of the late premier, or the present secretary for Ireland; whose education and talent combine beauty with strength, and bid fair to realize the warmest aspirations of their admirers. The mere numerical force of ministers in the new house remains to be shown: though we anticipate a very slight difference at first from what it was before. We conceive, however, that public opinion, out of doors, is in a disposition to be wooed and won over in their favour; if they will only take the right course to secure it. Ireland affords tangible proof that something like tranquillity has been achieved under lord Mulgrave. The apprehension of transforming that island into a volcano, operates, we doubt not, as a considerable check to the gasping ambition of conservatives. Every day must add to the fulness of such convictions, unpleasant as they may be to their entertainers. The Court, meanwhile, will effect not a few seasonable conversions. Loyalty will be urged as an appropriate plea for gliding from the polar circle of opposition into the genial regions of royal sunshine. Attempts on the part of tories to storm the treasury benches, gradually degenerating into forlorn hopelessness, will induce their most conscientious followers to seek a strong government, upon almost any terms; and therefore, for the sake of having the business of the country conducted with dignity, they will either be absent from divisions, or make a merit of necessity, by tendering their support to administration. This will occur in-

deed in deep silence, and through sheer constraint: nor would the process of overcoming their maiden coyness, or making their wry faces give way to sebaceous satisfaction, be incurious to laughing philosophers. It will be remarked, perhaps, that such prospects, however probable, are as yet future ones; and those, too, dependent upon very delicate contingencies. Our present trust reposes upon the pledges so recently given by ministerial representatives to their constituents. In the zeal of their late communications, those who adhere to lord John Russell will manifest a freshness of cordiality. The veteran senators will find new comrades at their sides, before whom it would savour of disgrace to flag at the onset; whilst an analogous enthusiasm will thereby be enkindled among their more youthful rivals. We are satisfied that no ultimate apprehensions need be felt on behalf of liberty and good government; and if our tone be not altogether so sanguine as our readers might perhaps wish it to be, they will agree with us, that an agreeable disappointment will come better to all parties than a failure of prudence in exciting delusive expectations.

The Radicals stand last on our list, with their rank and file somewhat reduced on the muster-roll. Candidates, identified with their views, have certainly been found at the bottom of the polls, during the late struggle, in a very marked manner. Yet we believe that their battalions in parliament, delivered from several of the most noisy and intractable leaders, will be proportionably more powerful, as they will have become wiser. Adversity is a severe schoolmistress. Her lessons are given at the point of the rod; but happy are the minds upon whom flagellation is not thrown away. What has occurred at Bath, and in similar cases, may annoy, though it fails to surprise. The people of England, and especially the middle classes, prefer, for the most part, plain practical common sense, to theories thrust down their throats, whether they happen to be palatable or otherwise. They have, perhaps, the quickest perception of any nation in the world, as to the coincidence of occasions; as to what is really useful or attainable at a precise moment; or as to what, under the circumstances, may amount to nothing more than arrogance and dictation. They love ability much, but modesty still more. They may, and always will, have favourites; but even their favouritism has neither permanency, nor toleration, for flippancy, dogmatism, or impertinence. It eschews rash talkers, afflicted with the persuasion, that philosophy and patriotism can only issue from their own loquacious lips. The radical section, in the new House of Commons, strikes us as a purified party, less likely to be precipitate, cross-grained, and incoherent in its character. The absence of sundry individuals, unnecessary to name, we sincerely lament; and the diminution of steady votes is sufficiently deplorable. Yet we are satisfied that, upon the whole, our parliamentary salads

will evince more of the oil, and less of the vinegar, in their composition: a modification agreeing better with our individual digestion; although quite aware, that *de gustibus non disputandum*. Our radical senators, we have no doubt, will perform their duties well, and sacrifice minor details in their attachment to the general cause. Let them yield a cordial, ungrudging, uncomplaining support to the Queen's present government, on their side; and let the administration on theirs, in the name of common sense and common justice, leave open such questions as the Corn Laws, the Ballot, Triennial Parliaments, Household Suffrage, and the removal of Bishops from the Upper Chamber. There is no time, neither is there any ground, for quarrels about trifles. The influences of the Executive are in honest hands; and therefore let the cabinet of lord Melbourne be defended against all assailants, and at all hazards. The hopes of toryism exist upon anticipated disunion in that camp upon which their eyes are full of water with gazing. That those hopes may never be realized is our most fervent prayer; and the very thought reminds us to speculate a little upon the prospects of the country.

Now, there are four things which by possibility may happen, and we will look each steadily in the face. For example, the present ministry may just be enabled to maintain its position, and no more. Perhaps after all that has been said and written, this is most likely to occur; and lamenting, as every man must, the inconveniences of feebleness, bandied to and fro like a shuttle-cock, still what is bad is preferable to what is worse. Not to dwell upon the millions of Ireland, contented with the policy of their lord-lieutenant, and the praiseworthy moderation of Daniel O'Connell, who can accurately estimate the advantages of having liberal instead of arbitrary statesmen in power? Except as to legislation, where it is admitted that their hands will be tied, the benefits of a patriotic Executive are like the blood circulating in a person's veins; visible in no other manner, than in the general healthiness of his body. Patronage descends in its results upon the people, rather than on a party. The affections of a parent, instead of the caprices of tyranny, govern the commonwealth. Impulses shoot forth throughout society, in numbers beyond thought or calculation; and allowing for human frailty, they run in a right, instead of a wrong direction. The grand consequence therefore is, that possession of office by the liberals, under the nose of an all-but-successful opposition, induces such habits of circumspection and economy, that the country gets honest service upon moderate terms, together with the good done in addition, by an incessant enunciation of sound principles in parliament. True it is, that an enemy prevents those principles from being acted out; but the masses well know upon whose shoulders the culpability lies: and while they wait

patiently or otherwise, the hour arrives, when public opinion rises up in its omnipotence, and settles one or the other knotty point, exactly as it did with regard to the Reform Bill. That this is a state of affairs which ought to exist, we by no means affirm; yet we must insist upon it, that it is a bed of roses compared with what has been, and might be again for a transitory interval. It may not be a paradise to the Liberals; but to the Conservatives it is a perpetual purgatory. The clustering attractions of the treasury torment their appetites, yet elude their grasp:

Above, beneath, around their hapless head
Trees of all kinds delicious fruitage spread;
There figs sky-dyed a purple hue disclose;
Green looks the olive, the pomegranate glows;
There dangling pears exalted scents unfold,
And *yellow apples ripen into gold*;
The fruit they strive to seize; but blasts arise,
Toss it on high, and whirl it to the skies!

The second possibility is, that in the course of events, Lord Melbourne and his colleagues may obtain such a majority, as will bear them through, in a large creation of peers, as well as in a gradual, yet complete realization of their measures. Then will arrive those halcyon days, when the flames of faction will expire for want of fuel. Ireland will become like England and Scotland, a happy, prosperous, united nation. The energies of Great Britain will be developed; and the debt in all its magnitude will be forgotten as a national burden, through the augmentation of national resources. Lines of demarcation between Christian sects, as to whatever now constitutes the roughnesses of distinction, will then vanish into thin air. The growing intelligence of every class will quietly and satisfactorily decide, whether religious establishments are blessings or banes to a country. We, as voluntaries, claim no merit in avowing, that we would stand or fall by the verdict; being convinced in our own minds, as to which way that verdict will be given. Truth will prevail without asking for protection, coercion, or clamour. Its existence involving its immortality and irresistibility, it has only to be let alone, that it may govern, as well as live for ever. It may be too much to expect these things in their entirety, just at present: but let us at all events, get as near to them as may be; and take care to lose nothing by dividing our forces, slumbering at our posts, or grasping at the impossible!

It further appears to us that there is a third contingency, the occurrence of which none would regret more than ourselves. There have been hints occasionally scattered abroad, when some Whigs have been pale with despair, that a coalition might be formed

between the least liberal members of the cabinet, and the most liberal conservatives; in other words, a combination of those leviathans possessing the largest swallow! Such a catastrophe would disgust, we believe, many right-minded, conscientious, and disinterested persons, and drive them altogether from the arena of politics. Coalitions have never permanently answered; and could only be tolerated, but as substitutes for something far more to be dreaded. If it be replied to us, that the existing state of things is in some sort a coalition between Whigs and Radicals,—our rejoinder is, that we deem it rather an association of elements with natural affinities, than an amalgamation between professors of conflicting principles. Sincere reformers see alike on essential matters, and merely differ as to the extent and degree of the reform required. But the differences between Sir Robert Peel or Lord Stanley, on the one hand, and the Marquis of Lansdown on the other, are fundamental and vital. Their views of society are taken from opposite points, wide as the poles asunder. The coalition in question could never be based upon mere conciliatory concessions: it must necessarily involve grand compromises, destructive of mighty principles. The soul of it, in plain terms, would be dishonour! Its tendency would be to separate the people more than ever from their rulers. Parties would rapidly degenerate into factions. Government, in lieu of acquiring solidity, compactness, or public respect, would bear in its own bosom the seeds of disunion, which the struggle and the storm must soon force into the most fatal development. Superficial observers are often misled by sounds. They hear a grave senator prosing from the ministerial benches in favour of our matchless institutions, which his heart nevertheless is set upon improving; whilst his antagonists accuse and decry him and his, as revolutionists. It is this atrociously erroneous charge, which has generated the whole homily. The lengthy orator may be neither a Demosthenes nor an Ulysses; yet he would possibly undergo death itself, sooner than have the wheels of advancement brought to a total stand. He is simply defending himself, or his friends, against groundless calumnies: he is not going over to the enemy. Some of his fellow-combatants happen to have opened their mouths so foolishly, that explanations are needful in detail. Those explanations may seem to be almost a conservative confession of faith, the recantation of his former creed: but it is not so in reality. The root of the speaker is unshaken as ever; and he loves light rather than darkness. There is a deep gulf betwixt toryism and attachment to liberty, which can neither be crossed nor closed up, consistently we mean with the preservation of political identity. Nor can there occur any coherence for honest purposes between the two parties, where the vehemence of repulsion on one side is only paralleled by its perfect reciprocity on the other.

The fourth possibility alone remains to be considered; for there is no other that we can discern, unless it be revolution; an alternative in argument out of the question, through the mercy of Providence, and the good sense of all classes. It is then, we will suppose, just within the range of sober hypothesis, that toryism may again culminate, like a baleful star, in the political firmament. Is it possible that such a state of affairs could endure through a twelvemonth? Would the country, after a struggle of seven years for good government, allow what has been done to be undone; as well as permit all hope of future benefit to be swept away? Most certainly it never would! There are from eight to nine thousand dissenting chapels in the land, each with its pastor and congregation; the entire aggregate of these churches augmenting rather than diminishing; with the spectacle daily before them of an Establishment planting its foot on their necks;—and coupled with it, is there, we would ask, to be a faction round the throne, sworn to the perpetual maintenance of this ascendancy, and that degradation? Would it be long endured? In Ireland there are six millions and a half of Roman Catholics, sympathized with by about three quarters of a million in the same communion here, bowed down under a dominant minority of Protestants about one-tenth of their numbers, and all but stung into absolute frenzy;—we ask, can this continue, if the last beam of expectation, that matters are to mend, be extinguished? In the three kingdoms, there are upwards of four millions of adult non-electors, with half a million more of electors craving the ballot for their protection, as well as certain modifications of our social system, without which they believe that industry must be prostrated, and prosperity banished;—and will these materials of discontent, multiplied and magnified, and inflamed by passion, be played with as a bird, or be commanded and insulted for ever? History is not, in our humble estimation, an old almanack; and it shows that the awful line, where sufferance darkens into vengeance, has infatuation on one side, and destruction on the other! We decline prosecuting further a subject so thoroughly disagreeable.

Before we close, let us address a few words to Dissenters in the way of our vocation. If the prospects of our country be not quite so cloudless as they were, it is nevertheless clear that knowledge of every kind has made enormous strides. Its accelerated progress indeed has led to the idea that advancement must henceforward always proceed with the velocity of a locomotive on a railroad. But it should be remembered, that the further we penetrate into hostile territories, the nearer we approach the centre and metropolis of their strength. Of course, therefore, the resistance will become greater,—more intense in its character,—more concentrated in its operation. The shout of

them that strive for the mastery will go up to heaven still louder than before. Prejudices will assume the form and garb of religious principles, and move amidst the contending armies, with a respect not altogether deserved. Increased excitement will solemnize the mien of wisdom in pressing towards her ultimate victory, that the least possible sorrow may be the price,—the painful price,—of righteousness being learned by the oppressors of a community, as Gideon was compelled to teach the elders of Succoth, with the thorns and briars of the wilderness. Meanwhile, not only is the triumph secured, but the numbers who will share it, must be enhanced through the delay. The very restlessness of our adversaries betrays some sensibility, as to the weakness inherent in whatever ought not to be. Nonconformity does not ask for domination;—but it demands, and must speedily obtain the most perfect liberty and equality. Nothing, however, will more befriend it, at the present juncture, than a spirit of union and moderation; a spirit of conciliation without compromise;—a spirit of mildness without meanness,—firm in the surrender of no principle,—wise in the repression of every approach to the unreasonable. Lord Melbourne and his compeers must be supported; they must be made also to do that which is right,—but they must be cheered on, and backed in performing it. They must have fair time given them; and much patience should be shown in waiting for those opportunities which are the flowers of time. All the denominations, thus holding together, with a single well-understood object in view, will most completely fall in with the practical habits of the best and wisest among their fellow-countrymen. Under blessed influences from above, religion will pervade every rank and degree, without injuries being inflicted, or jealousies imagined, through the promotion of sectional partialities. Not that such events can occur on any one given day. Prudence, and not precipitancy, will stand us in the noblest stead. Restraining ourselves, we shall extort the approbation of others. The elements of harmony will accompany the elements of power. The conduct, which conferred upon us the Reform Bill, may be described as our political Salamanca: the measure, which revised our municipalities, has been the Vittoria of our corporations; and the separation of church and state will be more to us than a sanguinary Waterloo! May its laurels be unstained with violence; may there be neither the wail of the widow, nor the tear of the orphan; but only those achievements crowned with success, which illuminate the shadows of time, and extend into the ages of eternity!

ART. X. BRIEF NOTICES.

A History of British Birds. By W. M. YARRELL, F.L.S., Secretary to the Zoological Society. Illustrated by a Wood-cut of each Species, and numerous Vignettes. London: John Van Voorst. Part I. 1837.

To those who are acquainted with Mr. Yarrell's *History of British Fishes*, it will be unnecessary to say one word in commendation of the present work. It is distinguished by the same intimate acquaintance with the subjects of which it treats; is written in an equally popular style, and is embellished by numerous beautiful illustrations from one of the most eminent artists of the day. It is intended as a companion to the author's former work, and to that of Professor Bell on *British Quadrupeds*. All the species will be illustrated by engravings on wood; two, and in some cases three, illustrations being given 'to represent the various changes dependent on age, sex, or season.' The drawings, wherever practicable, will be made from living examples, and in other instances from the most perfect specimens to which the author can obtain access. Numerous Vignettes, subservient to the general subject, will be given, 'and no expense or labour will be spared to render this *History of British Birds* as complete as extensive observations, long practical acquaintance with the subject, and the plan of the work will admit.'

The Way to do Good: or the Christian Character Mature. The Sequel to the Young Christian and Corner-Stone. By JACOB ABBOTT. With a Preface by Thomas Morell. London: James Dinnis.

The author of this work needs no introduction to British readers; the continued circulation of his earlier pieces being amply sufficient to keep his name and character before the public view. His present volume is well deserving of a place beside the former productions of his pen. Equally distinguished with them for the clearness, spirit, freedom, and dramatic character of its elucidations,—pushed

occasionally to excess,—it is perhaps as justly chargeable with overstepping propriety in regard to the positive institutions of Christianity. It is, however, far too great a treasure to be neglected on account of any peculiarities in this respect that we have noticed.

That a work, adapted to the character and tastes of youthful readers, was wanted on the present subject, has been very suitably noticed in Mr. Morell's brief preface. This gentleman, in speaking of the moral dangers, of which it is highly important, that the young and inexperienced should be admonished, and against which it is incumbent on all most vigilantly to guard, proceeds to say:

'Some of these dangers relate to the *objects* of Christian beneficence, lest the specious should be preferred to the useful—the spurious, to the true—the selfish, to the disinterested—the speculative and doubtful, to the approved—or the subordinate, to that which is of supreme excellence. Others relate to the *manner* in which those objects are prosecuted, and the agencies employed in carrying them into effect. So far is the well-known maxim that 'the end sanctifies the means,' from having the recommendation of truth, that nothing can be more erroneous in principle, or more dangerous in practice. The holiest cause may be contaminated—the noblest, degraded—the most benevolent, and, in its own nature, beneficial, frustrated, or rendered an instrument of evil; if attempts are made to promote it by unhallowed and unlawful means. Other dangers to be encountered in the work of doing good relate to the *principles* on which they are based, the *spirit* in which they are pursued, or the *motives* from which they spring. Never can it be too frequently or too earnestly inculcated on the professed disciples of Jesus Christ, to make the law of their Divine Master the rule, and his holy example the model of their conduct. The most efficient principles, and the strongest inducements to a dili-

'gent continuance in well-doing, are those which the gospel of Christ suggests and implants. In this, as in every other department of Christian duty, the great rule is, 'Let the same mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus.'

With these observations, it is impossible not to agree, as also with the opinion, afterwards expressed, that the present essay is 'replete with sound practical wisdom, imparts instruction of the most valuable kind in the simplest, and most unostentatious form, and is manifestly the result of a diligent study of the human heart, an extended and accurate survey of the Christian character, and a minute observation of the present condition of the church and of the world.'

The work is distributed into eleven chapters, respectively headed, Works and Faith, or the History of Alonzo; Motives; Ourselves; The Poor; Promotion of Personal Piety; Public Morals; The Church and Christian Union; The Sick; Children; Instruction; Conclusion.

The basis of the work is laid in the first chapter, not in a systematic, but an historical form. The necessity of a renewed state of mind, in order to consistent and acceptable well-doing, is portrayed in the early history of Alonzo; a sketch, the circumstances of which indeed may be fictitious, but of which the inward substance is incontrovertibly real. The occasional impressions of a heart, which is still the friend of the world, are here truly and admirably delineated, in their evanescence and fatuity. Whatever may be thought of a few phrases and sentences, in which he has probably exposed himself to misrepresentation or mistake, Mr. Abbott has, in this first chapter, afforded beautiful and expressive evidence of his desire to lay the foundation of Christian beneficence in the reconciliation of the heart to God. We could extract many interesting observations, but it is preferable to read it as a whole.

It remains only to be added that, this interesting volume is very neatly printed, and that it is published at a very low price.

Religion in America; a Narrative of the Deputation from the Baptist Union in England, to the United States and Canada. By the Rev. F. A. Cox, LL.D., and the Rev. J. Hoby, D.D. Third Edition, carefully revised. London: T. Ward and Co. 1837.

As this work was noticed in our pages on its first appearance, we should not advert to the present edition, if some important alterations had not been made in its title and contents. 'On several accounts,' say the authors, 'it has been deemed expedient to alter our original title; so that instead of, 'The Baptists in America,' we have adopted 'Religion in America.' Our chief reason is, that as the book is not 'sectarian, the title ought to be more general.' This is as it should be. The general character and spirit of the book were misrepresented by the original title, and its circulation has probably been limited by it. We are, therefore, glad that the alteration has been made. Another feature of the present edition is the omission of some statements contained in the former, respecting the proceedings which took place at New York, in connexion with the American Anti-Slavery Society. These statements, it is well known, involved the authors in some unpleasant controversies, and we are glad to find that the obstacle they furnished to the circulation of their volume has been removed. It would have afforded us pleasure if the pruning knife had been applied to some other statements, and if a more direct and unhesitating exposure of the inconsistencies of slave-holding professors had been introduced. But we are not going to enter into a controversy which we hope is closed for ever. We rather avail ourselves of this opportunity to say, that the Anti-slavery discussions which this volume occasioned, necessarily called off public attention from its specific character. The important information it communicates on the ecclesiastical statistics of America, has, in consequence, been overlooked, and the design of its publication in some measure lost. We hope that, under its new title, it will obtain the

attention to which it is well entitled, and which it will amply repay. We know not any other volume which comprises within such narrow limits, so great a mass of interesting and valuable information.

The Preacher from the Press: Sermons, to Explain and to Recommend the Gospel of Jesus Christ. By JOHN ALEXANDER. Norwich: Josiah Fletcher.

This little volume contains twelve sermons, addressed to the church and congregation over which Mr. Alexander presides. They were originally delivered in the ordinary course of his ministry, and are now issued from the press, in the hope of effecting more extensive good. They answer strictly to their title, and constitute a pleasing memorial of pastoral solicitude and counsel. Their style is clear, unaffected, and popular, their sentiments strictly evangelical, and their tendency eminently good. We shall be glad to find that their circulation encourages their author to continue the series.

The Progress of Creation considered with reference to the present condition of the Earth. By MARY ROBERTS. London: Smith & Elder. 1837.

A beautiful little volume, which may be put advantageously into the hands of intelligent young persons. It contains the results of extensive reading, combined with much judgment, and happily controlled by a religious spirit.

Missionary Records—West Indies. Tract Society. 1837.

It would be easy to fill many pages with interesting extracts from this small volume. But we must content ourselves with recommending it to our youthful readers, among whom it cannot fail to prove a favourite. It is well adapted to enkindle a missionary spirit, and to strengthen the Christian's faith in the ultimate prevalence of religious truth.

Art. XI. Note to the Article entitled 'Jamaica Apprenticeship,' in Number VII.

WE have been honoured by a letter from Sir George Grey respecting some remarks in our July number (Art. VI.) on his conduct as Under Secretary to the Colonies. To this letter we should have given insertion last month had we not deemed it due to Sir G. Grey, as well as to the facts of the case, to institute some inquiries, with a view of removing, if possible, the mystery in which the subject referred to by him is involved. In a note to the Article in question (p. 91) we extracted from the *Jamaica Watchman* an account of the 'Secret History of Lord Sligo's Resignation,' in which certain statements are attributed to Sir G. Grey, in an alleged interview with two West India planters. It is to this extract that the letter with which we have been honoured refers. 'My present object,' says Sir G. Grey, 'is exclusively limited to an alleged statement of facts contained in a note to the Article in question, purporting to be taken from the *Jamaica Watchman* of the 9th of May, in the accuracy of which the writer of the note states he has good reason to confide. It will probably be satisfactory to you to know, that this confidence has been altogether misplaced, and that the writer has been imposed on by a gross fabrication. The alleged facts, so far as I am concerned, are entirely devoid of truth, and do not even rest on any plausible foundation which could give them the most remote semblance of truth.'

This explicit denial is of course decisive. It precludes the supposi-

tion of the statement which we extracted being correct *as a whole*. Sir. G. Grey's denial respects those parts of it which implicate himself, and we most readily give circulation to it. But the main facts of the statement are untouched by his letter, and on those we are desirous of adding a few words. That such a letter as the Watchman refers to was written from England by Mr. Philpots, and that considerable excitement amongst the planters and others in Jamaica was produced by it, are, we believe, unquestionable.

We were, therefore, desirous of ascertaining from the most authentic sources how far the account extracted from the Watchman might be relied on, that, in doing justice to Sir George Grey, we might not be guilty of suppressing any facts in which the British public are interested. For this purpose a friend applied to the Marquis of Sligo, and has been honoured by the following reply, which we are authorized to publish.

‘ Wiesbaden, July 30th, 1837.

‘ My dear Sir,

‘ Within this last half hour your favour of the 24th, relative to the secret history of my recall as connected with the letter of Mr. Philpot to Mr. Hodgson, reached me, and I lose not a moment in sending you a reply, which you are at full liberty to publish or make any use of you please.

‘ Though deeply hurt at the time by the conduct of several of those who were officially or otherwise connected with me in Jamaica, in relation to this letter, I resolved never to give vent to my feelings, and I should now, in accordance with that resolution, have avoided giving you any particular reply had there not been a difference of opinion between Mr. Ramsay and Mr. Stewart as to this affair, and had I not been appealed to by one of them, Mr. Stewart, as to the truth of this statement. My recollection of the matter differing somewhat from his, I replied to him nearly in the same manner as I shall now to you.

‘ Mr. S. M. Barrett having, in the course of our usual correspondence, alluded to Mr. Philpot's letter as a subject of common conversation, I never having heard of it, requested him to communicate to me its contents and his authority for them. He, in reply, named Sir Joshua Rowe, the chief justice, as his authority, when on a visit to him on his way to Montego Bay assizes, Sir Joshua having told him it was a subject of common conversation at Spanish Town. I did not scruple to ask him if he had seen it when he happened to come a short time after to the King's house. He informed me that he had not seen it, but had heard of it, and that it was to the effect stated since in the Jamaica newspapers. I then asked him why, with the intimacy that existed between us habitually, he had not mentioned to me a fact in which I had so deep an interest, more particularly as we had been in communication about my proposed resignation of office. He replied to me that he had only heard of it *en passant*, and as Mr. Stewart, who, from being the Island Secretary, was in almost hourly contact with me, was his informant, he could not imagine me to have been left in ignorance of it by him. With his permission I sent for Stewart, being desirous of tracing the matter a little further, and before Sir Joshua,

asked him what he knew of it; he told me he had not seen it, but heard it from Mr. Rennals, his clerk, to whom Mr. Hodgson had shown it in Mr. Vidal's assembly office. I then reproached Mr. Stewart with his having neglected to make me acquainted with a circumstance which must have so deeply interested me, after having received from me every possible civility and kindness. Mr. Stewart, at once, in a tone of much irritation, which induced me to think he was indignant at the accusation, said: 'How, my Lord, could I suppose you to have been ignorant of it, when, to my knowledge, Mr. Nunes, your private secretary, has read it himself.' I confess I was surprised at this, and called up Mr. Nunes, who was at his desk as usual, and asked him if he had seen or heard of it. He declared, to my great astonishment, that he had read it, but had not thought it worth while to inform me of it, 'that he thought my stay in Jamaica was assured thereby.' Not choosing to say what I did think, and being equally unwilling to say what I did not think, namely, that the explanations I received were satisfactory, I turned the conversation to some other subject. Though I communicated my feelings on the whole affair to my immediate family the same evening, I resolved on taking no public notice of it. I did not imagine that Sir G. Grey was capable of such conduct. I was about in a few short weeks to leave Jamaica, and terminate thereby all official connexion with Messrs. Stewart and Nunes. I did not wish to have any difference with them, or to injure them; I know that some letter had been written by Philpots, which had formed the groundwork of the affair, but I determined on letting it drop, as the further sifting of it could do me no good, when my departure was so soon to take place. I should still have maintained silence on the subject, for the same reason, had I not felt myself impelled by justice to Mr. Ramsay, to send him a copy of my reply to Mr. Stewart's appeal. He was, as was thought by himself and others who read Mr. Stewart's letter in the papers, implicated by insinuations, in the publication of an account, he (Stewart) thought to be incorrect, of that conversation. This, however, has subsequently appeared to have been an erroneous construction, as Mr. Stewart has declared that he had no such intention. Notwithstanding, I thought it but fair to let him as well as Mr. Stewart know my view of the facts which took place. I alluded to it since it appeared in the Jamaica papers, in conversation with Lord Glenelg, at the Colonial office, in connexion with another matter; but, excepting to him and yourself, I do not think I have mentioned it to any other persons. Sir G. Grey has written to me a most kind letter, denying it totally, which disposes of that question; but as I have not seen the *ECLECTIC REVIEW*, I am unable to allude to any thing which may have appeared in it. In my letter to Mr. Stewart I have gone more into details than can be necessary here, pointing out what I conceive to be the mistakes of his statement as to the persons present. I again repeat that you may make what use you please of this letter.

'Signed,

'SLIGO.'

This communication clearly establishes the general facts stated in the passage which we transferred from the Watchman to our pages, while it as distinctly admits the denial of Sir George Grey. We have

already expressed our conviction that that denial is conclusive, but before dismissing the subject, we will venture to suggest, that the honourable baronet owes it to himself to call upon Mr. Philpots, now in this country, to say whether he transmitted to Jamaica the report which is attributed to him. Such an account did reach that colony, and Mr. Philpots is alleged to have sent it thither. The means of refutation are consequently at hand, and we hope Sir George Grey will avail himself of them.

ART. XII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

A Latin Glossary of the Tenth Century, has been found in the department of the Vosges by M. Charles Friry. A correct copy has been made of it for the Royal Library. A great part of the Latin words are explained in Anglo-Saxon.

Dr. Pritchard's Work on the Mythology of Egypt has just been translated and published, with Remarks, in German, by Hayman, and with a Preface by A. W. Schlegel. A Translation of these will shortly appear in English.

Dr. Dantz, Professor of Divinity at Jena, has issued a prospectus of a Universal Dictionary of Theological Literature. It is to be comprised in one large octavo volume.

M. Audubon, the distinguished Ornithologist, has returned to England, after a year's absence in America, where he has been engaged collecting specimens for the completion of his magnificent work, the *Birds of America*.

M. Garcin de Tassy, one of the professors of the Bibliotheque du Roi at Paris, is visiting London, to consult the Oriental Manuscripts at the East India House, as well as those of private collectors, prior to the publication of his History of Hindustani Literature.

In the press, *The Life, Journals, and Correspondence of the late William Wilberforce, Esq.* By his Sons.

Just Published.

Dr. Pye Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah; an Inquiry with a View to a Satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures concerning the person of Christ. The Third Edition, much improved, and enlarged by a considerable increase of new matter. 3 vols. 8vo.

A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By Edward Robinson, D.D., late Professor Extraordinary of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, North America. A new edition, carefully revised and corrected, with some additions and various improvements by S. T. Bloomfield, D.D., F.S.A. 8vo.

A History of British Fishes. By William Yarrell, V.P.Z.S., F.L.S. Illustrated by nearly 400 Wood-cuts. 2 vols.

An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians. Written in Egypt during the years 1833—34 and 35. By Edward William Lane. 2 vols.

Christian Theology. By John Calvin. Selected and Systematically Arranged, with a Life of the Author, by Samuel Dunn.

The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation. By Justus. With an Appendix, containing Lord Glenelg's Despatches to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

Memoir of the Rev. William Newman, D.D. By George Pritchard. 8vo.

Discourses; chiefly on Doctrinal Subjects. By the Rev. Robert Nesbit, Poona Presidency of Bombay. 8vo.

Earl Harold. A Tragedy, in Five Acts.

The Miscellaneous Works of Adam Clarke, LL.D. Vol. XI.

Lives of the Most Eminent, Literary, and Scientific Men of Great Britain. Vol. II. Lardner's Cyclopædia, Vol. XCIII.

Saunders's Portraits and Memoirs of the Most Eminent Reformers. Part I.